

CITIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNION

Mechanisms and modes of Europeanization in the city of Turin

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Signature:

This research examines European Union (EU) policy instruments affecting the urban domain throughout the lenses of the Europeanization approach. Instead of looking at EU instruments that are formally/legally consecrated to cities, we use theoretical public policy analysis to explore the arenas and the causal mechanisms that structure the encounter between the EU and urban systems of governance.

We develop the argument that there are four different modes of Europeanization. In consequence, to grasp the essence of a single instrument or a given EU initiative, one has to establish which mode is prevailing in the policy logic of that instrument or initiative. The core variables that explain change concern the status of *actors' preferences* (a) and the *payoffs from Europeanization* (b). The combination of (a) and (b) thus originates a four dimensional space. We can therefore develop a typology for the modes of Europeanization, which chimes with current theorisations on the EU modes of governance. The eventual Europeanization of urban systems depends on the *nature of strategic interaction*, not on the legal 'tools' explicitly designated for cities.

Thus, policy instruments are initially associated with the four modes. We then used process-tracing to verify whether instruments actually perform according to the 'mode' to which they have been initially paired, or if they trigger contingencies that have not been theoretically/deductively foreseen.

This is particularly convenient within a realm – *urban policies* – where the EU does not have a specific formal competence and where interactions between 'cities' and the EU are likely to take place within multiple policy areas and during different stages of the policy process. Mechanisms are explored by considering the city of Turin. The four 'policy instruments' selected as proxies for the assessment of modes of Europeanization are the Covenant of Mayors programme for energy saving, directive 1994/62 (then waste framework directive) for waste management, directive 1993/30 for air quality control and the URBAN II Community Initiative for urban regeneration and development.

The analysis of the four instruments reveals less variation between modes than initially expected. In this connection, theoretical similarity between modes, as emerged from the typological

exercise carried out at the outset of the research, was partially echoed by the empirical analysis of policy instruments. Within cities and urban areas, the Europeanization effect is likely to assume a more blurred fashion and the action of, and reaction to, Europe is greatly interwoven with other dynamics, which in turn shape the perception and the actual impact of European modes and instruments for regulation. In the conclusions we highlight the differences between this approach and the traditional analysis of EU urban policy, and suggest avenues for future empirical research based on typologies of policy instruments.

List of Contents

| | |
|---|--------|
| Acknowledgements | p. 7 |
| List of tables and figures | p. 9 |
| List of abbreviations and acronyms | p. 11 |
| <i>Introduction</i> | p. 15 |
| <u>PART I Contextualising Europeanization of Cities</u> | |
| Chapter 1 <i>Territorial Governance and Regulation in Europe</i> | p. 23 |
| 1.1 Introduction | |
| 1.2 Contextualising governance within urban systems | |
| 1.3 The “Urban Policy” of the EU | |
| Cities at the forefront: the new programming architecture 2007-2013 | |
| 1.4 The role of the European Commission | |
| 1.5 From government to <i>governance</i> within urban systems? | |
| 1.6 Concluding remarks | |
| Chapter 2 <i>Europeanization. Concept, literature and agendas for research</i> | p. 40 |
| 2.1 Introduction | |
| 2.2 Conceptualising Europeanization | |
| 2.3 Europeanization: definition and the problems of establishing causality | |
| 2.4 The encounter between domestic systems and the EU | |
| 2.5 Europeanization the urban way | |
| A systematic analysis of the literature on Europeanization and public policy | |
| 2.6 Concluding remarks | |
| Chapter 3 <i>Mechanisms and Modes of Europeanization</i> | p. 65 |
| 3.1 Introduction | |
| 3.2 For a public policy analysis of cities Europeanization | |
| 3.3 Policy instruments and the “new” tools of public intervention | |
| Policy instruments: definitions and classifications | |
| Changing instruments of urban policy | |
| Social mechanisms and the value of mechanistic explanations | |
| 3.4 Actor constellations and game representations | |
| Cheap-talk and signalling games | |
| Battles of the sexes game | |
| Assurance game | |
| Bargaining games | |
| 3.5 The approach: policy modes and mechanisms of Europeanization | |
| Modes of Ideation | |
| Regulatory modes | |
| Modes of Coordination | |
| Modes of Distribution | |
| 3.6 Modes of Europeanization and policy instruments | |
| Chapter 4 <i>Research design, Methods and Case selection</i> | p. 102 |
| 4.1 Introduction and <i>research questions</i> | |
| The relevance of the “time factor” | |
| 4.2 Research Hypotheses | |
| 4.3 Methodology and research design | |
| Analytic process-tracing | |

- Design and strategy of research
- 4.4 Case selection and methods
- 4.5 Concluding remarks

PART II Assessing the encounter between cities and the European Union

Chapter 5 *EU policy for the Environment and Sustainable Development* p. 123

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Evolution and principles of the EU policy for Environment
 - EU policy instruments for the environment
 - EU environmental policy and the space for cities
- 5.3 Sustainability and Environmental policy integration
 - EU SDS and Environmental policy integration
 - The EU SDS and the implications for cities
- 5.4 Concluding remarks

Chapter 6 *Europeanization via Modes of Ideation. The Covenant of Mayors programmes for Energy saving and renewal* p. 149

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Contrasting climate change in the European Union
- 6.3 The Covenant of Mayors programme
- 6.4 Exploring the Mode: the Covenant of Mayors in Turin
 - Logic of action in Turin
 - Conclusions: insights into the Europeanization of energy saving in Turin

Chapter 7 *Europeanization via Modes of Regulation. Waste management and the case of the EU Packaging Waste Directive* p. 172

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Waste management policy in the EU
 - Principles and structure of waste legislation
- 7.3 The Packaging and packaging waste directive
 - Instruments for waste management. WFD and waste management plans
 - Implementing the EU Packaging waste directive
 - Objectives and targets of the Packaging waste directive
- 7.4 Exploring the Mode: waste management in the city of Turin
 - Legislative context and waste management in Italy
 - Logic of action in Turin
 - Insights into the Europeanization of waste management

Chapter 8 *Europeanization via Modes of Coordination. Ambient air quality control and the case of the EU Directive 1999/30* p. 205

- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Air quality policy in the EU
 - Principles and structure of Air quality legislation
- 8.3 Implementing directive 1999/30/EC (and “framework directive” 2008/50)
- 8.4 Taking stock of Coordination: air quality control in Turin
 - Legislative context and air quality control in Italy
 - Logic of action in Turin
 - Insights into the Europeanization of air quality control

Chapter 9 *Europeanization via Modes of Distribution. Structural policy and the case of the community initiative URBAN II* p. 227

- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Structural policy in the EU: what space for cities?
 - The EU principles of structural action

- 9.3 URBAN II. A catalyst for urban Europeanization
- 9.4 Exploring modes of Distribution: URBAN II in Turin
 - Developing URBAN CI in Italy
 - Logic of action in Turin
 - Insights into the Europeanization of urban regeneration in Turin

PART III Theory development and Conclusions

Chapter 10 *Implications and conclusions* p. 256

- 10.1 Addressing the research questions
- 10.2 Dissecting mechanisms
- 10.3 The logic of interaction
- 10.4 Using evidence to formulate propositions on Europeanization
- 10.5 Contribution to the literature
- 10.6 Limitations, future research and recommendations

Appendix p. 285

Bibliography p. 293

List of Interviews p. 314

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List of Tables and Figures

| | | |
|----------|---|--------|
| Tab. 1.1 | Stages of EU Regional Policy and its urban dimension | p. 27 |
| Fig. 3.1 | Interaction-oriented policy research: the domains | p. 80 |
| Tab. 3.1 | Potential Mechanisms of Europeanization of cities and urban areas | p. 90 |
| Tab. 3.2 | The space of Modes of Europeanization | p. 92 |
| Tab. 6.1 | Timeframe EU policy for “climate change” | p. 154 |
| Tab. 6.2 | Legislative “climate change” timeframe in Italy | p. 163 |
| Fig. 6.3 | The Covenant of Mayors in Turin | p. 166 |
| Tab. 6.4 | Timeframe for Turin | p. 167 |
| Fig. 7.1 | Structure of Waste Legislation | p. 183 |
| Tab. 7.1 | Timeframe for EU “waste policy” | p. 190 |
| Tab. 7.2 | Legislative “waste” timeframe in Italy | p. 193 |
| Fig. 7.2 | Waste Management in Turin | p. 199 |
| Tab. 7.3 | Timeframe for Turin | p. 201 |
| Tab. 8.1 | EU Air quality standards | p. 208 |
| Fig. 8.1 | Structure of Ambient Air Quality Legislation | p. 211 |
| Tab. 8.2 | Timeframe EU policy for “air quality” | p. 214 |
| Tab. 8.3 | Legislative “air quality” timeframe in Italy | p. 216 |
| Tab. 8.4 | Institutional distribution of competences for air quality control in Italy | p. 217 |
| Fig. 8.2 | Exceeding of the limit values for PM₁₀ in the Po Valley (2009) | p. 218 |
| Fig. 8.3 | Air quality control in Turin | p. 220 |
| Tab. 8.5 | Timeframe for Turin | p. 222 |
| Tab. 9.1 | Growth of the Structural Funds, 1975-2006 | p. 230 |
| Tab. 9.2 | Priority Objectives of the Structural Fund 1988-2006 | p. 232 |
| Tab. 9.3 | Community Initiatives 1988-2006 | p. 233 |
| Tab. 9.4 | EU programmes specifically directed to cities | p. 235 |
| Tab. 9.5 | The architecture of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013 | p. 236 |
| Tab. 9.6 | Comparison of the two phases of URBAN | p. 237 |
| Fig. 9.1 | Areas of Intervention under the <i>Progetto speciale periferie</i> | p. 249 |
| Fig. 9.2 | Axis of intervention URBAN 2 Turin | p. 250 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|--------|
| Fig. 9.3 | URBAN II in Turin | p. 252 |
| Tab. 10.1 | Common mechanisms of Europeanization | p. 259 |
| Tab. 10.2 | Mechanisms and Modes of Europeanization | p. 262 |
| Tab. 10.3 | <i>Expectations</i> on the scope of Europeanization | p. 275 |

List of abbreviations and acronyms

| | |
|------------------|---|
| ACR+ | Association of Cities and Regions for recycling and sustainable resource management |
| AMIAT | Azienda Multiservizi Igiene Ambientale Torino (Turin Multiservices Company for Ambient Hygiene) |
| ANCI | Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani (National Association of Italian municipalities) |
| ARPA | Agenzia Regionale per la Protezione dell'Ambiente (Regional Agency for Environmental protection) |
| ATC | Agenzia Territoriale per la Casa - Torino (Territorial Housing Agency Turin) |
| ATO | Ambiti Territoriali Ottimali (Optimal Territorial Areas) |
| BEC | Council of Europe development Bank |
| CAFE | Clean Air for Europe programme |
| CEMR | Conseil Européen des Municipalités et Régions (European Council of Municipalities and Regions) |
| CF | Cohesion Fund |
| CIPs | Community Initiative Programmes |
| CoM | Covenant of Mayors programme |
| CONAI | Consorzio Nazionale Imballaggi (National Packaging Consortium) |
| DCPP | Dipartimento per il Coordinamento delle Politiche Comunitarie (Department for the Coordination of Communitarian Policies) |
| DG | Directorate General (at the European Commission) |
| DG Clima | Directorate General for Climate Action |
| DG Energy | Directorate General for Energy |
| DG Regio | Directorate General for Regional Policy |
| DICOTER | Direzione Generale per il Coordinamento Territoriale (General Directorate for the Territorial Coordination) |
| EAGGF | European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund |
| EAP | Environmental Action Programme |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| ECCP | European Climate Change Programme |
| EEA | European Environmental Agency |
| EEEF | European Energy Efficiency Facility |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| ELENA | European Local Energy Assistance |
| EMAS | Eco-Management Audit Scheme |
| EPI | Environmental policy Integration |
| ERDF | European Regional Development Fund |
| ESF | European Social Fund |
| EU - CEP | European Union Climate and Energy Package |
| EU | European Union |
| GHG | Green House Gasses |
| GPP | Green Public Procurement |
| GTT | Gruppo Trasporti Torinese (Turin Transport Group) |
| IEE | Intelligent Energy Europe Programme |
| IREN | Iren Energy Society |
| ISPRA | Istituto Superiore per la Protezione e la Ricerca Ambientale (High Institute for Environmental Protection and Research) |
| ISTAT | Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (National Institute of Statistics) |
| JRC | Joint Research Centre |
| MATTM | Ministero dell'Ambiente e della Tutela del Territorio e del mare (Ministry for Environment and for the protection of territory and the sea) |
| MLG | Multi-Level Governance |
| NEPI | New Environmental Policy Instruments |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |

| | |
|---------------|---|
| PPA | Public Policy Analysis |
| PRU | Programma di Rigenerazione Urbana (Urban Recovery Programs) |
| PUMS | Piano Urbano della Mobilità Sostenibile (Urban Plan for Sustainable Mobility) |
| PWD | Packaging Waste Directive |
| SDS | Sustainable Development Strategy |
| SDSs | Sustainable Development Strategies |
| SEA | Single European Act |
| SEA | Strategic Environmental Assessment |
| SEAP | Sustainable Action Plan |
| SGI | Services of General Interest |
| SMAT | Società Metropolitana Acque Torinesi (Metropolitan Company Turin Waters) |
| SSCI | Social Sciences Citation Index |
| TAPE | Turin Action Plan for Energy |
| TARSU | Tassa Rifiuti Solidi Urbani (Urban Solid Waste Tax) |
| TEU | Treaty on the European Union |
| ToA | Treaty of Amsterdam |
| TRM | Trattamento Rifiuti Metropolitani (Metropolitan Waste Treatment) |
| UNFCCC | United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| UPPs | Urban Pilot Projects |
| WCED | World Commission on Environment and Development |
| ZTL | Zona a Traffico Limitato (Limited Traffic Area) |

Introduction

The main objective of this research is to explain how the public policy of the European Union (EU) affects cities. To achieve this objective, the dissertation draws on an approach developed over the last 15 years or so in political science and sociology, called 'Europeanization', and it is grounded in rational choice institutionalism accounts, in both its ontology of EU policy making and the use of tools for explaining mechanisms of Europeanization.

For us, Europeanization – an integrated approach to appraise and explain these relations – is first and foremost a process that shapes, and in some cases redefines, the relationships between institutional orders and levels of governance. The focus on institutional orders brings us into a political sociology literature that has crossed roads with Europeanization, and has shown its strength in the analysis of local and regional public policies (Carter and Smith, 2008; Carter and Pasquier, 2010). In particular, this research draws on ideas and concepts from political sociological approaches with the aim to move beyond simplistic applications of multi-level governance and to partly re-conceptualise the policy process. The latter implies treating policy-making not as a linear set of events, but rather analysing how actors frame problems, design instruments to address these problems and how they interact over both sets of practices. Ultimately, the thesis contributes to the literatures on Europeanization, policy instruments, regulatory policy, and urban governance.

Specifically, our project identifies the modes through which EU public policy has an impact on cities, explains the mechanisms that shape Europeanization processes, and how change (or lack thereof) emerges. An important aim in this work is to appraise how the type of strategic interaction determines the character of Europeanization. Accordingly, we will look at public policy systems as constellations of actors who interact in different

domains characterised by a given set of problems, levels of uncertainty, pay-offs and policy instruments. Therefore, interactions between actors are theorised using basic game theoretical models with the intent to contribute to rational choice accounts in Europeanization literature.

Having introduced the theoretical ambition of the thesis, we now turn to the substantive topic. The late twentieth century has witnessed the rise of *cities* and *regions* as important spaces for regulation and as actors in the context of national and global politics and economy. As observed by a leading author in this field, “Instead of an homogeneous world order, we are faced with a resurgence of regionalist movements, minority nationalisms, and the *renaissance of cities as global actors*” (Keating, 2001)¹. After losing their central role to advantage of the Central State, cities are now re-establishing their status in the economy and polity of Europe (John, 2001; Goldsmith, 2003; Le Galés, 2002). Hence, the process is one of *re-territorialisation*, rather than de-territorialisation (Brenner, 1999; 2004).

Cities are centres for the accumulation and production of wealth, functioning at time as bulwark against the effects of market forces, at time as places of social and political inequalities. Therefore, socio-economic development increasingly assumes a regional and local focus, where processes of strategic and integrated planning are deployed in the attempt to improve the international role of cities and to tackle urban revitalisation, social exclusion and environmental protection (Dente, 2010). These trends are backed by the general restructuring of the relations between governments and administrations within different systems of territoriality. This is a consequence of institutional developments both in the international policy-making – with the creation of differentiated regulatory authorities and entities of coordination – and within the national borders, where various

¹ In Scott, A. (Ed.), *Global City-Regions: Trends, Theory, Policy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

processes of redistribution of territorial powers entails a renewed role for regional and local authorities.

The rise of the EU as political system has been accompanied by a transfer of *regulatory authority* downwards to sub-national territories, that is regions and *cities*, and in some circumstances up-wards in favour of supranational territorial configurations (Bagnasco and Le Galés, 2000; Keating, 2001; Kazepov, 2005; Lefevre, 1998; Le Galés, 1998; 2002).

In this new “political economy”, the concept of *regulation* denotes relations between actors and the nature of conflicts around authoritative decisions (Le Galés, 1999). Sub-national authorities are arenas for *political regulation*, defined as “the range of institutions, networks, directives, actors, bodies of regulations, norms and customs – political, social and administrative, public or private, written or unwritten – which contribute to stability, direction and the capacity to run things” (Le Galés, 1998: 484)². Cities and Regions have emerged as an important level for the regulation of interests, groups and institutions.

In the EU, cities have now to deal with a “constantly changing and often different set of challenges, opportunities and constraints as they seek to manage the turbulent environment in which they operate” (Goldsmith, 2003: 115). Within this changing framework, issues of *public governance* have gained importance, particularly at the level of regulation of urban and city areas. The EU policy is a non-trivial factor pushing cities (and regions) to adapt their *institutional* structure and capacity, to cope with the pressures and challenges generated (Goldsmith, 1993a; OECD, 2000).

Traditionally, the influence of the EU on cities has been assessed by looking at the impact of policy programmes belonging to the regional Structural Policy, since the establishment of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) in 1975. During the past two decades, following the Single European Act and the new wave of reforms in 1988, the EU has played an increasing role seeking to shape both regional and urban development. For

² Cited in Wright, V. (1996) “Introduction”, in V. Wright and S. Cassese (Eds.), *La récomposition de l'Etat en Europe*, Paris: La Decouverte.

the purposes of this work, the process culminated with the establishment of the Cohesion Fund in the Treaty on European Union (1993) and the launch of a series of “Community Initiatives”, partly financed by the Structural Funds, followed by a second launch in 1994, which sets up a further initiative specifically addressed to urban areas, named URBAN.

Four principles guided the action of the European Commission towards the sub-national dimension. These are concentration, programming, additionality and partnership. The latter especially allowed the European Commission to initiate an intense dialogue with city representatives, thus broadening partnerships beyond national and regional authorities, and institutionalised groups. This encouraged regions and cities to open representative offices in Brussels and to organise themselves collectively, by means of networks and interests groups.

The principle of partnership has been further on fostered by the publication of the White Paper on European Governance by the European Commission in 2001, which places considerable emphasis on the role of partnership between all stakeholders affected by a common policy issue.

As mentioned, the involvement of cities in the policy making of the EU is supposed to take place mainly within the structural policy (John, 2001) and the specific initiatives it entails for the 2007-2013 programming period as well as within those policy sectors envisaged by the EU Lisbon Agenda (now Europe 2020) (European Commission, 2007). The dismissal of specific programmes addressed to cities after 2007 and their incorporation into wider regional policies confronts European cities with new challenges, thus opening up further questions as to the place and role of cities and urban actors within the EU. At the same time, though, the development of an urban policy of the European Union seems to still be far from an effective fulfillment.

The Lisbon Strategy brought European cities at the forefront of the EU-led policy making and urban territories become the centre for the regulation and promotion of crosscutting integrated policies. Cities are also a key component of the attempts to create

new loci of legitimacy for the EU and to learn by learning through experimental governance at the local level, often in connection to the rise of new modes of governance like the open method of coordination (Héritier and Rhodes, 2011)

Building on these elements, the thesis is organised as follows. Part I (*Contextualising Europeanization of cities*) will appraise the literature in the context-areas of this research, so as to uncover the main concepts as well as to highlight the trajectories undertaken by the contributions of scholars thus far. Therefore, chapter 1 (*Territorial governance and regulation in Europe*) will deal with the political economy of cities and urban areas in Europe by seeking to draw on the main theories of urban politics, to propose some alternative interpretations to link them with the broader field of European Studies.

The “local dimension” of the EU will be considered by analysing the main stages through which its “urban policy” actually developed as well as by accounting for those EU policy instruments and initiatives that are more likely to have an impact on urban areas. The role and the involvement of the European Commission in “urban policy” or in urban-related policy issues will also be analysed.

Chapter 2 (*Europeanization: concept, literature, and agendas for research*) specifically deals with Europeanization, which is the approach chosen to study the potential EU impacts – in terms of change, rather transformation – on domestic territorial systems. In particular, an attempt will be made to point out the main methodological implications that the use of this approach to the study of European politics yields when applied to specific cases or policy areas. The review of the Europeanization literature will outline the main research agendas proposed thus far, so as to eventually pinpoint the gaps that would instead need fulfilment.

In turn, chapter 3 (*Mechanisms and modes of Europeanization*) makes sense of different arenas for Europeanization of urban politics, mechanisms and instruments by adopting a conceptual perspective informed by theoretical policy analysis and drawing on descriptive game theory. Specifically, the chapter illustrates different archetypal game models to

exemplify the logic of interaction between cities and the EU, and presents the mechanisms through which EU-led policy instruments and initiatives are likely to impact urban systems.

The chapter sorts out Europeanization mechanisms by starting from the ideal-types of ideational arenas (or “for a” in the tradition of French political science), distribution and regulation, to be then sorting out a typology of Europeanization modes at the bases of the empirical analysis. Following that, chapter 4 (*Research design, methods and case selection*) presents the research design on which the empirical assessment of Europeanization of cities will be grounded. In turn, the section on designing the research will be linked to a section on case selection. The third part of the chapter presents the methods and techniques for data collection.

Part II of the thesis (*Assessing the encounter between cities and the European Union*) will empirically account for the theory developed in the previous sections.

Chapter 5 (*EU policy for the environment and sustainable development*) will outline the character of the policy area within which the empirical analysis will be performed. The features of the EU policy for environment will be presented with specific reference to the themes of sustainable development and environmental policy integration within local systems. Following that, four distinct chapters – 6 to 9 – will each present the case of an EU policy instrument, from its promotion at the EU level, to the implementation stage in the city of Turin.

Therefore, the analysis of the Covenant of Mayors programme for CO₂ emission control and energy saving, wants to exemplify ideation as a mode of policy (Chapter 6). The regulatory mode of policy will be assessed through the analysis of the EU policy for waste management, by considering in particular the implementation of the EU directive 1994/62 on Packaging and Packaging Waste (chapter 7). In turn, modes of coordination will be presented through the case of the EU policy for Air Quality Control and the development of EU directive 1999/30 (chapter 8). The fourth empirical chapter will

instead make sense of the mode of distribution by assessing the Community Initiative URBAN II for urban regeneration (chapter 9).

In the final part – *on theory development* – the overall argument will be conceptualised with the purpose of *drawing the implications of case findings for theory* (Chapter 10). After developing an analytical framework for the analysis of Europeanization, specifically accounting for the Europeanization of cities and urban areas, and building on the assessment of empirical cases analysis, this last part aims to draw the implications of case finding to actually develop a theory for the analysis of Europeanization at the urban level.

EU policy instruments will be systematically compared on the bases of their development and transformative impact in the urban context chosen to test our expectations. The final part appraises the overall research project and suggests future agendas for research.

CONTEXTUALISING EUROPEANIZATION of CITIES

In this part we identify the policy actions of the EU that bear the potential to bring about change within urban systems of governance. We draw on theoretical policy analysis to propose an innovative understanding of the relationship between cities and the EU policy making. We propose a framework for the empirical analysis of urban Europeanization based on social mechanisms and modes of policy. The presentation of the methodological design of the research and of the case selection concludes part I.

TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE AND REGULATION IN EUROPE

1.1 Introduction

This chapter shall contextualise the role of the category “city” within the European Union-wide policy making. We will discuss some of the main directions of research on cities and urban areas within different disciplines. We will compare the main approaches to tease out theoretical elements and analytical tools.

Typically, European cities have been analysed according to the tenets of urban politics. Accordingly, the focus has been on the institutional structure of local governments, and the power relations amongst formal actors, including resource dependencies between formal institutional structures and private actors. However, the role of the EU is seldom examined in depth in the field of urban politics. In urban sociology and territorial regulation the tendency is to think about the EU as political and geographical context within which several dynamics affecting cities occur. The studies explicitly assessing the role of cities within the European Union policy making have fallen short of offering a satisfactory wide picture of the mutual relationship between urban systems and the EU. Instead, these have mainly focused on the involvement of local government in the structural programmes promoted by the EU within its Regional Policy, thus neglecting other relevant dimensions.

This chapter (and, in more detail) argues that we need to widen our horizon, by considering formal and informal channels of Europeanization, connected to the policy instruments of the structural funds but also other sources of EU-induced change. We will discuss the often-cited shift from government to *governance* within urban systems will be formulated; in particular the constitutive elements of the partnership approach. The final two sections are instead explicitly devoted to outline the tools that can be potentially

employed when analysing the relation between cities and the EU through the Europeanization approach.

1.2 Contextualising *governance* within urban systems

Governance has become a very popular concept in the EU, mainly with regard to European Studies. It is impossible to review the large literature on this concept (Kooiman, 1993a; Schultze, 2003). For us, it is sufficient to observe that governance refers to a “new way” of governing that goes beyond solely formal institutions. Thus, governance signifies “a change in the meaning of government, referring to a new process of governing, or a changed condition of ordered rules; or the new method by which society is governed” (Rhodes, 1996: 652-653). Thinking of the EU, governance can be seen as “the production of authoritative decisions, which are not produced by a single hierarchical structure...but instead arise from the interaction of a plethora of public and private, collective and individual actors” (Christiansen and Piattoni, 2004: 6).

The European Union has progressively emerged as part of a reconfigured pattern of European governance characterised by the evolution of institutional arrangements and processes implying a shift towards the greater role of more autonomous or semi-autonomous agencies, and forms of “self-regulation” underpinning partnership models (Wallace and Wallace, 2000). The EU policy process has often been described as *multi-level governance*. This picture, we argue, applies more within some policy areas than within others (i.e. EU-financed programmes) and during certain phases of the “policy cycle” (i.e. implementation). The multi-level governance approach conceives of the European Union policy-making as no longer monopolised by national States, and policy decision no longer as the aggregate outcome of several national preferences to a lowest common denominator.

The increasing involvement of sub-national authorities in the EU-wide policy making that followed the further completion of the Single Market and the reform of Structural Funds in 1988 inspired multi-level governance thinking in European Studies. The key ideas

is that decision-making competences are, though to varying degrees, shared by multiple actors at different levels and the nature of decision-making into the boundaries of the States is now “collective” (Hooghe, 1996; Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Marks, 1992; Marks, *et al.*, 1996).

Particularly in the policy area of structural funds, the governance approach emphasises the emergence of networks, whereby sub-national governments interact both with the EU and cross-nationally. Further, it points to the dialogue of the Commission with sub-national authorities and their interaction with the supranational level (Hooghe and Marks, 2001: 12).

Within the picture offered by multi-level governance in relation with city and urban systems, Europeanization would occur because of the greater awareness of local authorities and other organisations of the importance of EU policies and funding opportunities. From the “bottom-up” perspective of the process, this array of activities reinforces the trend to governance because of their potential to foster new or stronger partnership arrangements across local organisations. “At times, stronger vertical networks emerge, followed by the rapid transfer of solutions to public problems between the supranational and the local levels” (John, 2001: 12). In relation to that, the governance approach facilitates investigations of the whole policy process – throughout all its phases. It points out the importance of variation by sectors and to the role of a wide range of actors in policy-making. By endorsing a governance approach to Europeanization, especially at the urban-city level, it is possible to assess the top-down, bottom-up, vertical and horizontal channels of relations, rather than exclusively focusing on hierarchically channelled relationships.

So-called new modes of governance have widened the EU approach to governance, with a focus on “benchmarking, the dissemination of best practices, mutual learning and peer pressures, intended...not only to deliver policy outcomes, but also to act as a process for improving policy formation” (Hodson and Maher, 2001: 375). Due to a lack of knowledge, “the centre” has to concede room for manoeuvre to regions and localities. One group of stakeholders explicitly targeted over the last decade by the European Commission

is *cities*. Cities, “instead of being mere policy takers are increasingly qualifying as *policy makers*, which is clearly sign for more *participative governance* in the EU” (Schultze, 2003: 123).

1.3 The “Urban Policy” of the EU

What is the urban policy of the EU, exactly? Let us start from two important documents: *Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union* (European Commission, 1997b) and *Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: a Framework for Action* (European Commission, 1998). Through these two documents, the European Commission recognised the existence of a specific “urban dimension”.

Four main reasons were pointed out to justify why the “city-dimension” requires special attention within the overall EU system. Urban areas in Europe deserve specific consideration due to the high percentage of people currently living therein – almost 80 per cent of the total European population – and are considered as the dynamo of the European economy. Besides that, initiatives were to be undertaken in consideration of the growing rate of social exclusion in urban areas and the fact that cities have traditionally been centres of social and cultural life (European Commission, 1997b: 4-6; 1998: 2-5). By taking into account the large-scale problems affecting cities within the EU, the Commission claimed that “whilst urban authorities cannot be the sole agencies to act on these large issues, they should be fully involved in the policies related to these matters, as there can be no effective solution on the ground without their active participation” (European Commission, 1997b).

Despite the strong emphasis put on problems affecting cities and on the need to tackle them through the promotion of specific initiatives, the Commission specified in turn that “it does not intend to ask for additional power at the European level, merely to assess the extent to which existing policies affect urban areas and to examine the ...possibilities for improving urban development and for increasing the effectiveness of existing Community interventions in urban areas” (European Commission, 1997b).

The “policy objectives” outlined in the 1997 Communication were later integrated into wider “policy ideas” in the 1998 action framework. These are named in terms of strengthening the economic prosperity and employment in towns and cities, the promotion of equality, social inclusion and regeneration in urban areas, the protection and improvement of the urban environment, contributing to good governance and local empowerment (European Commission, 1998: 5-6)³. In 1997 the Commission argued for the promotion of services of public interest and urban development. It envisaged a change towards strengthening the contribution of Structural funds and the participation of cities in the preparation and implementation of regional development programmes. The Commission also argued for the promotion of the exchange of experiences between cities, throughout the creation of urban and city networks (European Commission, 1997b: 13-14).

Table 1.1 Stages of EU Regional Policy and its Urban Dimension

| | EU Regional Policy | Urban Dimension in the EU Policy |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Stage 1 1975-1988 | Regional Policy as a tool to reach economic integration. | Not existing, neither implicitly nor explicitly.. |
| Stage 2 1989-1993 | First reform of the Structural Funds and creation of the Cohesion Fund. | The Urban Pilot Projects represent the first attempt of the EC to have an explicit urban policy. |
| Stage 3 1994-1999 | Second reform of the Structural Funds and doubling of their financial allocation. | The EC pushes towards the development of an Urban Policy, but the divergence existing between the actors still prevented its institutionalisation. Two programmes specifically targeted to cities are financed by the Structural Funds: UPP II and the CI URBAN. |
| Stage 4 2000-2006 | Third reform of the Structural Funds and reduction of the priority objectives from seven to three. | Besides URBAN II and the Urban Audit II, also a relevant part of the Objectives 1 and 2 of the SF is meant for cities. |
| Stage 5 2007-2013 | Further simplification of the Cohesion Policy which now counts three main priorities and three financial instruments. | Community Initiatives are not renewed and urban-related programmes are embedded in the mainstream regional programmes |

Source: elaboration from Euricur (2004): 47.

Cities at the forefront: the new programming architecture 2007-2013

For the programming period 2007-2013 the Commission – through its *Community Strategic Guidelines on Cohesion* – expressed the formal intention to strengthen the place of urban issues by fully integrating actions in this field into the overarching structure of the renewed objective of the Structural Funds (European Commission 2006b). Within the new

³ For further clarifications on that point, see Atkinson (2001).

structure, urban-related programmes became part of the mainstream regional programmes under the new objectives 1 and 2. As a consequence, regional authorities were responsible for the programming and management of “urban programmes”. Similar prominence on the potentials of urban-focused action was sketched in the *Communication from the Commission on cohesion policy and cities* (European Commission, 2006a). The Communication laid down recommendations on a broad set of fields, ranging from transport services, environment and culture, territorial partnerships, employability, governance, exchange of experiences, and the development of financial engineering.

Similar emphasis on the potential of urban-focused action is sketched in the *Communication from the Commission on cohesion policy and cities* (European Commission, 2006b). Besides proposing the strengthening of the urban dimension and concentrating resources to avoid them being spread too thinly, the Communication laid down concrete recommendations to the cities and the actors involved in urban development, covering transport services, environment and culture, to territorial partnerships, employability, governance, exchange of experiences and the development of financial engineering.

At the same time, the European Commission argued that cities, as relevant partners, should be consulted and participate in the “preparation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the Operational programmes in accordance with national rules and practices” (European Commission, 2006b). Actions relating to sustainable urban development – the document added – may be part of the thematic and territorial priorities identified in the National Strategic Reference Frameworks, to be presented by Member States to ensure the coherence of the Funds intervention with the Commission Strategic Guidelines.

Nonetheless, the mainstreaming of Community Initiatives in 2007-2013 led to stronger sectoral focus, perhaps partly weakening the Community involvement compared to the context of the previous URBAN Community Initiative (European Commission, 2008). In turn, as established by Art. 11 of the regulation laying down general provisions, relevant

partners – local, regional and urban authorities as well as economic and social partners – must be consulted and participate in the “preparation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the operational programmes in accordance with national rules and practice”⁴.

Within the provisions of the European Regional Development Funds – whose financial assistance will cover part of all three objectives – the thematic priorities associated with urban issues mostly deal with supporting sustainable integrated regional and local economic development and employment – *convergence objective* – where priority for assistance is addressed towards research and technological development, promoting innovation society, aid for structures providing local services to create new jobs, environmental issues including the rehabilitation of the physical environment, integrated strategies for clean transport, the improvement of energy efficiency, education and the fostering of social infrastructures. Under the *regional competitiveness and employment objective*, assistance spaces out between multiple “policy areas”, with a particular focus on supporting initiatives aimed at boosting innovation and the knowledge economy, promoting investments for the environmental ameliorations and access to transport and telecommunications services of general economic interest. In particular, Art. 8 of the ERDF regulation, allows regions to support integrated urban development projects based on participative strategies in urban areas.

The *European territorial cooperation objective*, albeit endowed with the smallest financial provision (2, 52% of the funds), offers most of the potential for the action of cities. Previously covered by the INTERREG Community Initiative, it aims in particular to forge the link between the projects drawn up under territorial cooperation and those supported within operational programmes.

⁴ Council regulation (EC) No 1083/2006 of July 2006 laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Funds, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1260/1999, OJ L 210/25 of 31.7.2006.

Several programmes with potential urban focus are foreseen within the three programmatic parts through which the objective is organised – cross border cooperation, transnational cooperation and interregional cooperation. In particular, the interregional cooperation component provides for four additional programmes. URBACT II urban network support programme, which follows the URBACT programme carried out during the 2000-2006 period, is designed to support cities in developing innovative and sustainable solutions to integrate economic, social and environmental dimensions. This is pursued through exchanging and sharing good practices and learning dynamics. URBACT, in particular is structured in a way that involves all parties having a stake in the city, namely policy professionals, policy makers and representatives of both different domains of the society. For the period 2007-2013, URBACT comprises 44 projects, involving 255 cities and more than 5000 participants in 29 countries⁵.

The INTERREG IVC interregional cooperation programme on the other hand aims to support cooperation between regional and local authorities in order to facilitate the exchange of experiences and best practices. The programme, in particular, focuses on the priority axis of innovation and knowledge society and environment and risk prevention. The ESPON 2013 (European Spatial Observatory Network) study programme supports policy development and intends to set up a European scientific community in the field of territorial development by boosting general knowledge about territorial structures, trends and policy impacts across the European Union. Besides that, the INTERACT II programme provides expertise for the management of all territorial cooperation programmes to improve on their implementation. In turn, URBACT II and INTERREG IVC programmes are part of the “Regions for Economic Change” initiative, which aims to

⁵ For a more detailed overview on the activities and projects managed within URBACT programme, reference is made to www.urbact.eu.

strengthen networking and exchange of experience, mainly owing to the further extension of the scope of eligibility for the URBACT II programme⁶.

As regards the financial engineering of programmes, the managing authorities in each Member State are enabled to finance public-private partnership thereby ensuring a more flexible management of the allocated funds; contextually financial expenditures are foreseen to support financial instruments for enterprises, such as venture capital funds, guarantee funds and loan funds. To support the organisation and the appropriate functioning of these instruments, the Commission, together with the European Investment Bank (EIB) and the Council of Europe Development Bank, launched the JASPERS, JEREMIE and JESSICA Initiatives⁷.

Such priorities are further integrated by those allowed by the European Social Fund under both the “convergence” and the “competitiveness and employment” objectives; these are designed to support the enhancement of conditions for workers and enterprises, strengthening the access to employability and reinforcing social inclusion and human capital. The Cohesion Fund, planned to finance programmes for convergence, provides assistance as regards the environment and the trans-European Networks, where clean urban transport is the leading investment priority.

Quite differently from other programming periods though, there was an urban dimension in the 2007-2013 period. Within the Lisbon Strategy, initiatives and regulatory devices addressed to cities are explicitly delineated. Furthermore, other initiatives underpin policy instruments with an indirect impact for urban areas (European Commission 2006b). Under the Lisbon growth and jobs Strategy, we find the application of internal market and competitions policy, the European employment and social policy, the urban dimension of

⁶ For a complete analysis of the Operational programmes co-financed by the European regional Development Fund (2007-2013) see European Commission (2008) “Fostering the Urban dimension. Analysis of the Operational programmes co-financed by the European Regional development Fund (2007-2013)”, Brussels, Commission of the European Communities.

⁷ JASPERS: Joint Assistance in Supporting Projects in European Regions; JEREMIE: Joint European Resources for Micro to Medium Enterprises; JESSICA: Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas.

the environmental policy, the European R&D and the transport policy, energy policy and information and communication policy.

The urban dimension is to a lesser extent touched upon by initiatives carried out within other policy areas, whose instruments remain predominantly national. In spite of that, *urban volets* are at stake in some parts of the Justice, Freedom and Security policy, in particular as regards migration control and crime prevention, in the European rural development policy, where small towns fall in the definition of rural areas and finally in some of the provisions of the EU external policy where this calls for transnational cooperation between urban areas.

To the former group we may ascribe the application of Internal Market and Competitions Policy, the European Employment and Social Policy, the urban dimension of the Environmental Policy, the European R&D and the Transport policy, Energy policy and Information and Communication policy as to the part concerned by the Seventh Framework for Research, technological development and demonstration activities (FP7).

In particular, it is worth mentioning the regulatory framework of the internal market and competition policy, which conforms to the provision of certain Services of General Interest (SGI) by urban authorities and the regulation of public procurement⁸ and public private-partnerships⁹ for the supply of certain SGI as well as the (informal) regulation of State aid for regeneration purposes in urban areas. As regards the Employment policy, the ESF supports reforms to strengthen urban governance and management through the promotion initiatives in the context of the European Employment Strategy (and its related Social Agenda 2005-2010) and operationalised via the Open Method of Coordination. In particular, actions are possible under the financing of the European Globalisation

⁸ Directive 2004/17/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 coordinating the procurement procedures of entities operating in the water, energy, transport and postal services sectors; Directive 2004/18/CE on the coordination of procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts.

⁹ COM (2004) 327; Communication from the Commission on Public-Private Partnerships and Community Law on Public Procurement and Concessions, COM (2005) 569 final.

Adjustment Fund¹⁰ within the framework of the PROGRESS programme for Employment and Social Solidarity aimed at boosting mutual learning, exchange of information and the diffusion of good practices. Within the 6th Environmental Action Programme, a Thematic Strategy on Urban Environment provides guidance for an integrated and focused approach using existing policy instruments and initiatives, by mostly building on the LIFE + programme whose thematic priorities related to urban areas deal with combating climate change, favouring environment and health safety in urban areas and fostering the sustainable use of resources.

Within the Seventh Framework Programme for Research, development and demonstration activities are envisaged so as to crosscut several policy areas such as ICT, Energy, Environment, Transport and Socio-economic sciences and humanities. In particular, under the CIVITAS plus Initiative, the Commission is co-financing projects, which address energy and transport issues, whilst the CONCERTO Initiative in the field of renewable energy sources is thought to provide a platform for the exchange of ideas and experiences. Other actions with an urban target are carried out within the EU policy for enterprises (mainly addressed to SMEs), the Culture Policy, the European Youth Policy, the Education and Training Policy and the EU policy for Active European Citizenship, all widely interested by programmes and initiatives implemented in the context of the Employment and Social Policy.

The urban dimension is to a lesser extent touched by initiatives carried out within other policy areas, whose focus still remains predominantly national. In spite of that, *urban volets* are at stake in some part of the Justice, Freedom and Security Policy, in particular as regards migration control and crime prevention, in the European Rural Development Policy, where small towns fall in the definition of rural areas and finally in some of the provisions of the EU External Policy where this calls for transnational cooperation between urban areas.

¹⁰ Regulation (EC) No 1927/2006.

1.4 The role of the European Commission

Since the establishment of the ERDF in 1975, the “urban policy” of the EU has developed in the absence of any legal basis, namely in a sort of A-Constitutional manner (Tofarides, 2003). Following the reform of Structural Funds in 1988, the principle of *partnership* has been the driving force behind the intervention of the European Commission in urban issues and a key element for the launch of urban policy measures. Partnership has allowed the European Commission to undertake a regular dialogue with sub-national authorities and consequently to enter policy fields where it does not have explicit competences; this has led to the mobilisation of sub-national actors in the European arena, sometimes accompanied by remarkable policy successes. The promotion and then extension of the Community Initiative URBAN/URBAN II can be considered as a proof of success, though limited in time and space, of the “urban experiment” undertaken by the EU.

The substantive role played by the Commission, and the growing involvement of urban actors in the EU policy making have not implied the by-passing of Member States, which instead continued to play a considerable – and on occasion antagonistic – role within this “new” policy field. Besides, the European Commission has experienced difficulties above all in enforcing the four guiding principles of regional policy, especially during the implementation phase. *Concentration* has been systematically undermined by the inclination of Member States to increase the number of projects initially foreseen for each of them. The highly differentiated character of the implementation procedures within different national and administrative contexts has partially hindered the application of the principle of *programming*.

The application of the principles of *additionality* and *partnership* has proved to be particularly problematic during the URBAN delivery phase. With regard to the former, especially due to the lack of understanding of the relationships between urban communities and urban government; in relation to partnership, mainly due to the often scarce awareness

of the policy-process by actors involved in EU programmes at the urban level (Bache, 1998, Pollack, 1996, Tofarides, 2003).

Additionally, after the launch of the Lisbon Strategy (European Commission, 2005), the tenet of *competitiveness* has become one of the leading principles guiding the EU policies. In this connection, it is now interesting to verify how this objective will relate in the “urban agenda” with the other policy aims of the EU, such as employment, cohesion and above all social exclusion. Another sensitive task is the further strengthening of *coordination*, both horizontally and vertically; on this, the “urban communications” of the Commission strongly point out how the activities addressed to urban areas, and promoted by different governmental levels, should be mutually reinforcing, in the attempt to enhance cooperation and synergic arrangements.

To date, the Commission has managed to put into place a reasonably coherent “action framework” within which policy subjects affected by urban issues can act and make their claims clear. “The Commission has established the rules of the game for participation and has structured a common framework aimed at favouring forms of interdependencies; it is in, and around such “fora” that the *informal politics* which characterise much of the Commission’s action develops” (Atkinson, 2001: 397). Hitherto, a discursive context for urban policy has been created. It is a system built upon projects and increasing instances for participation¹¹, a playing-field within which policies are actually developed and may further develop in the future.

¹¹ Amongst the projects that can be accounted as having favoured the participation of cities within the EU-wide policy making, the establishment of the Vienna Urban Forum, organised by the European Commission in 1998, the promotion of policy programmes addressed to urban areas – URBAN I and URBAN II – as well as cross border cooperation programmes such as INTERREG and EQUAL. The development of various networks has helped increase the visibility of cities and their actors within the policy-making at the European level, as well as increased the effectiveness of their claims in view of achieving concrete policy results. EUROCITIES network, the different issue-specific networks develop in the context of the URBAN AUDIT programme and the institutionalisation of the Committee of the Regions, are further examples of that development.

1.5 From Government to Governance within urban systems?

Theories of urban governance emphasise outcomes over formal political processes and stress public-private interaction over formal policy implementation. Despite persisting national differences (Jordan *et al.*, 2005), the shift from urban government to urban governance (Rhodes, 1996) seems to fit to portray the overall situation of many European countries, especially those that are members of the European Union.

In this connection, the *partnership approach* to governance (Stoker, 1998b, Pierre, 1998a) captures the character of the changing urban landscape, underpinning dynamics of economic urban regeneration and social cohesion. Over the last two decades, the European Commission has promoted partnership arrangements, both vertically – between different tiers of government – and horizontally – between different types of actors. The implementation of this approach has nonetheless varied considerably according to different urban and national contexts (Cento Bull and Jones, 2006). Especially at the urban level, “if we are speaking of *governance* is precisely because the government, whether centralised or local, is no longer capable of governing alone and now has to come to terms with and co-produce with other stakeholders and participants” (Jaquier, 2005: 374).

In cities across European countries, the EU action takes place alongside a background of multiple domestic institutional constraints. Local actors have to carry out their “policy action” by dealing with pre-existing domestic institutional arrangements and constraints, while simultaneously reacting and accomplishing European programmes (Cento Bull and Jones, 2006, Marshall, 2005). The increasing participation of cities in EU programmes has proceeded alongside with the development of a wide array of *local regeneration partnerships*, which, often in the form of public-private partnerships (hereinafter PPPs), have the potential to become broadly institutionalised, although started according to the guidelines and funding of the European Union.

“...thus, at both metropolitan and neighbourhood level, the *download* of European norms of partnerships has facilitated participatory modes of working that spur on the transition from *urban government to urban governance*” (Marshall, 2005: 679, *italics added*).

Although public-private partnership is now a well-established form of public-private interaction in urban policy, PPPs differ through time and urban regeneration projects depending on the actors involved and how power is distributed among actors. Public-private partnerships in urban systems can be seen as “institutionalised forms of cooperation between government and one or more private partners in a project with common interests via a distribution of decision rights, costs and risks” (Van Boxemeer and Van Beckoven, 2005: 3).

Understanding governance is very much about understanding the roles of institutions operating in a certain context. Therefore, within a governance framework of analysis, government and institutions have to be treated as a variable rather than a parameter whose influence and powers are considered as given (Pierre, 1998b). Thus, within the changing urban policy environment, PPPs should be better considered as *institutions*. Public-private partnerships at the urban level do have important institutional and structural properties; a partnership arrangement relies upon rules as well as on a certain number of shared values among participants and some common policy goals, acting as symbolic and utilitarian components of the relationship.

1.6 Concluding remarks

Europeanization at the local-urban level is linked to networks and the creation of new forms of governance. The clustering of economic activities in solely specific areas of Europe and the consequent disparities arising, make it necessary for urban-local authorities to work by means of “networked-based ways”, as they need to develop strategies useful to respond to these economic concentrations (Benington, 1994; Goldsmith, 1993b).

Local authorities, and particularly cities, are not simply receptors of norms and rules downloaded from the upper tier of the EU, but also “active users and shapers” of these EU-policy norms, in order to elaborate them by means of processes of *policy learning*, *policy transfer* and *networking*. Thus, processes of “cognitive Europeanization” (Pasquier, 2005: 296) are at stake, whereby “knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 344).

Evidence from urban-local Europeanization is more marked in certain policy areas than in others, in particular where the European Union shows a major degree of institutionalisation and where, as a consequence, local authorities may act more freely from the constraints traditionally imposed by the State. This is actually the case with Cohesion and Structural policy.

Here, the small dimension of EU bureaucracy compared to that of Member States, and the lack of information characterizing EU institutions, have favoured the involvement of sub-national and sub-regional authorities and the development of innovative policy solutions. Amongst them, *European programme partnership*, with local authorities playing a role during different stages of the policy process, *representative organizations* functioning as formal bodies for representation (AER; CEMR; CLRAE; IULA)¹², and *representative offices* set up in Brussels by regions and cities.

The participation of sub-national bodies in *trans-national networks* is often connected to specific policy sectors. Some of them are directly sponsored by the European Commission in order to connect the participants in specific initiatives, like under the RECITE programme launched in 1991. Others, more “bottom-up” in nature, arose from the spontaneous initiative of groups of cities sharing common characteristics or pursuing similar objectives. This is the case of EUROCITIES, founded in 1986 at the initiative of

¹² Assembly of European Regions; Council of European Municipalities and Regions; Conference of Local and Regional Authorities; International Union of Local Authorities.

Rotterdam to connect medium/large cities across Europe. These activities have sometimes led to developments at the EU level, like on occasion of the *Committee of the Regions and Local Authorities* establishment in 1994.

Europeanization within cities and urban areas affects institutions, individuals and organizations as well as the relations between “the city” as a system of governance and other systems differently involved over the same policy matters. In this connection, the various “components” of the city polity may adapt, resist, or change (Goldsmith and Klausen, 1997); in any case, the city as a whole reacts to the processes following EU action.

Urban governance conserves specific characteristics that distinguish it from the broader study of “sub-national governance”. It is then problematic as well as challenging to isolate the process of Europeanization in urban-city areas from its manifestation at other “sub-territorial” levels. What follows is that “urban and metropolitan Europeanization requires an analytical paradigm that enables researchers to test the salience of EU influences on local institutions and actors” (Marshall, 2005: 669).

Assessing the Europeanization of local-urban systems means to take into analytical account not only the transferred policies, the learnt practices and the selected alternatives, but also to assess the role of and interrelations occurring between individual and collective actors/institutions involved in the policy-game within such localities.

“...the European turn experienced by urban institutions and actors is a unique process which can be only examined by combining elements of the Europeanization approach with a nuanced understanding of urban governance, local dynamics, and domestic contextual factors” (Marshall, 2005: 672).

EUROPEANIZATION

Concept, literature, and agendas for research

2.1 Introduction

Over the last fifteen years an important analytical debate about the potential impacts of the European integration process on the territorial and administrative units constituting the European polity has arisen. The shift of analytical focus brought scholars to question the influence of the European Union in terms of its institutional transformation, policy change and ideational construction within its Member States and other sub-national layers of government and organisation (Goldsmith, 1993a; Marshall, 2005; Zerbinati, 2004).

Traditionally, research in the field of European Studies was mainly concerned with analysing Member States responses to the construction of the European polity, meaning the process and outcomes of European integration. Therefore, a “bottom-up” outlook was the privileged analytical perspective of these studies (Börzel, 2003).

In this connection, the academic debate evolved around two main theoretical paradigms, diverging on the interpretation of the role of Member States and European institutions. On one hand, *intergovernmentalist* approaches, mainly rooted in *neo-realist theories of international relations*, which consider the European Community as an international organisation, rather than a supranational organisation endowed with autonomous functions and a relatively recognisable sphere of political sovereignty. Far from evolving towards a coherent supranational institutional system, the European Union will remain an integrated system, or a confederation within which each Member State will maintain its institutional and political sovereignty (Moravcsik, 1991; 1998). On the other hand, *neofunctionalist* approaches focus on domestic actors, keen on promoting their interests at the European level. The main concept in these theorisations is “political community”, that is the creation

at the supranational level of a system-coherent “political authority” lying upon a system of supranational institutions triggered by the shift of loyalty from the central authority of nation States to the supranational arena (Haas, 1958; Sandholtz and StoneSweet, 1998).

In conjunction with the sudden acceleration of the European integration process by the end of the 1980s, during the ‘90s research interests within European Studies partly moved towards the analysis of the Member States responses to the impact of European process and institutions, thus assuming a more marked “top-down” perspective (Börzel, 2003; Börzel and Risse, 2003). Therefore, to cope with the renewed perspective, traditional paradigms were partially revisited. According to liberal-intergovernmentalists, the power of control of nation States would be enhanced as the process of integration advances (Moravcsik, 1993; 1999; Milward, 1992), due to the well-defined preferences with which national leaders are maintained to enter EU negotiations. Later, neo-functionalist theories instead suggested that the process of integration would have provided domestic actors with the necessary resources, influences and political channels to circumvent – at least to some extent – the power constraints of their respective nation States (Hooghe and Marks, 1997; Marks, 1993; Marks, *et al.*, 1996a).

Building on this last approach, proponents of *multi-level governance* interpreted the European polity as a nested system of governmental levels, which interact on the base of formalised and non-formalised structures (Hooghe and Marks, 2001; Marks, 1993; 1992; Marks, *et al.*, 1996b; Scharpf, 1994). In this connection, the process at stake does not strengthen or weaken Member States in an exclusive manner – thus following the logic of a zero-sum game – instead, it contributes to transform their structures and the power relationships between their constitutive parts (Kohler-Koch and Eising, 1999; Rhodes, 1996; 1997).

More recently, in the attempt to overcome the analytical drawbacks of this debate as well as to bypass the scarce dynamism of the two main competing paradigms, scholars have focused their analyses on specific public policies and on the relationship between the actors

taking part in the different phases of the policy process (Majone, 1994; Wallace and Wallace, 2000). Amongst this “new branch of studies”, emerged the analysis on the Europeanization of domestic structures of politics and policy. Studies on Europeanization seek to understand the relationships between the European and the “domestic” politics, by underling interactions between actors and institutions involved in a specific policy area, and the transformations eventually occurring in both the institutional setting and the policy-making (Green Cowles, *et al.*, 2001; Héritier, *et al.*, 2001; Featherstone and Radaelli, 2003).

Studies of Europeanization have been rather prolific over the last ten years. As showed by those few analyses on the diffusion of academic studies on Europeanization since the early 1980s, the number of scientific articles dealing with Europeanization has constantly increased compared to the overall production within social sciences (Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2009).

Within this relatively new branch of studies, the theoretical effort is not addressed to puzzles concerning powers distribution; instead “the theoretical effort in Europeanization as a research agenda is all about bringing domestic politics back into our understanding of European integration” (Radaelli, 2004: 3). The new research agenda of Europeanization attempts to better assess the potency of EU-initiated policies within domestic systems of governance, as well as to seize the potential influences – in terms of both opportunities and constraints – on national and sub-national politics (Graziano and Vink, 2007).

The chapter will proceed as follows. The second section appraises how Europeanization differs from other concepts and dynamics often considered as synonymous, such as European integration and globalisation. A further section shall critically overview different perspectives on Europeanization. Thus, section four assesses how EU action *encounters* domestic systems, whereas section five reviews the literature on cities Europeanization. Section six concludes.

2.2 Conceptualising Europeanization

The process of European integration has sped up over the last two decades, and, as a consequence, new politics, policies and polities have been created within the European Union. The process of integration and accompanying dynamics of transformation have produced a bulk of changes at the level of Member States, as well as within other systems of territoriality and administration, that is regions and – to a growing extent – urban and city areas.

Four major “macro-dynamics” characterised the European context over this lapse of time. The *institutionalisation of the Single Market* from the endorsement of the Single European Act in 1986 onwards has implied that an ever-growing amount of EU acts of law and regulatory tools affect domestic markets and the regulation of economic activities within different systems of territoriality (Fligstein and Merand, 2001). The second dynamic is the *advent of the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)*. The introduction of a single currency has heavily influenced decisions in domestic policies – to comply with the new rules – thus at times enhancing some EMU-affected policy areas on the EU-wide agenda (Dyson, 2002; Dyson and Featherstone, 1999). *Market-driven processes*, and the promotion of new policies at the European level, have triggered dynamics of regulatory competitions amongst administrative systems involved in the process of adjustment to the set of new EU-induced rules. Besides that, the recent *process of enlargement* towards Eastern Countries, which represented a considerable exercise of policy transfer (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2005; Schmidt and Radaelli, 2002).

These dynamics, and the processes underpinning them, are generally considered the causes of *Europeanization*. Although analytically different, the two processes of European integration and Europeanization have to be considered as empirically intertwined. The process of integration leads to the formulation of policies that impact on different “target dimensions”; “depending on the type, strength and timing of impact, Member States *and the*

other unities, generate feedback and political responses that affect the trajectory and content of integration” (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004: 5).

To avoid “concept stretching” (Sartori, 1970; 1991) and gain major analytical clarity when dealing with the dynamic of Europeanization, a distinction must be made between Europeanization and other concepts. In the case of Europeanization, *concept stretching* would entail thinking about “Europeanization as a continuum and the notion of domestic political systems as being increasingly penetrated by EU policy” (Radaelli, 2003: 32), thus hindering even further the possibility to draw the boundaries of the concept. Unravelling the perimeters between Europeanization and other confining concepts represents a first step in this direction.

Europeanization differs from *European integration* or *political integration*. European integration, in fact, belongs to the ontological stage of research, whereas Europeanization is post-ontological, “being concerned with what happens once EU institutions are in place and produce their effects” (Radaelli 2003: 33). Therefore, “whether European integration may be seen as mainly concerned with *inputs* produced by Member States, and in turn elaborated at the EU level, Europeanization may be considered how these inputs impact Member States – *and other territorial/political systems* – and their institutional and decisional assets, being subsequently returned to the EU level, thus influencing both the Supranational policy-making and the position of Member States in relation to it” (Schmidt, 2002a: 896 *italics added*).

Distinction also exists between Europeanization and the overarching dynamic of *globalisation*. Temporarily, globalisation predates Europeanization and generally refers to “a set of economic and political structures deriving from the changing character of the goods and assets that comprise the base of the international political economy...in particular the

increasing structural differentiation of those goods and assets” (Anderson, 2003: 39)¹³. The dynamics it underpins are largely economic in nature and its effects must be assessed empirically; Europeanization cannot simply be seen as the regional manifestation of globalization, by so doing reducing its wide scope to solely trading matters. Europeanization and globalisation are intertwined phenomena within the European Union, where “the effects of globalisation are universally subject to the mediating influence of supranational governance...thus, the relationship between Europeanization and Globalisation is quite likely to be *nested*” (Anderson, 2003: 49 *italics added*).

Europeanization is distinct from *convergence*, which can be one of the outcomes or consequences of Europeanization. The promotion of EU policies at the domestic level may, in fact, be source of convergence between arrangements put in place to cope with the new regulatory frameworks. Examples in this sense are the policy of media market regulation (Harcourt, 2003), the promotion of the EU-inspired environmental policy (Holzinger and Knill, 2005; Holzinger, *et al.*, 2008), yet monetary policies to promote sound finance (Sbragia, 2001). There is nonetheless broad empirical evidence showing that policy promotion within the European Union is often associated with high variability as to the domestic arrangements and outcomes that the new set of policy instruments may originate; in this case Europeanization mainly translates into national differences rather than convergences (Héritier, *et al.*, 2001).

Yet, Europeanization should not be confused with *harmonization*, where harmonising refers to the move towards greater similarity in the way instruments of regulation are managed and produce policy results at the domestic level. Even though the process of Europeanization can lead to increasing harmonization of policies within and between different domestic contexts, it leaves open rooms for diversity, which at times can yield the paradox of distorted competition (Radaelli, 2003).

¹³ Quoted from Cerny, P.G. (1995) “Globalization and the changing logic of collective action”, *International Organization* 49(4): 595-625.

Europeanization scholars point their analytical interest to the potential transformative effects of the EU-wide policy/politics dynamic onto the domestic structures of governance, thus partially superseding the attention traditionally paid to State structures, with a more wide-ranging analysis, so as to cover both politics, policy and polity (Börzel, 2000a; Schmidt, 2002a). Furthermore, the analysis tends to centre more on the explanation of processes rather than on the evaluation of outcomes. Analytical attention has therefore shifted towards the potential impact of the Europeanization process in affecting different elements of domestic governance. Therefore, scholars' concern is more on the potential consequences of the process on domestic systems rather than on the overall results for the EU construction.

2.3 Europeanization: definition and the problems of establishing causality

A general dividing line can be drawn between scholarships that consider Europeanization as an overall top-down process ranging from the EU level down to the domestic one, and those endorsing more bottom-up oriented definitions, underpinning a circular account of the Europeanization process (Lenschow, 2005b). In this connection, advocates of the “top-down” perspective tend to consider Europeanization as the *explanans* (or the independent variable), whereas “bottom-up” accounts have been more inclined to consider Europeanization as the factor to be explained and eventually as the dependent variable of the analysis.

By analysing the institutional transformation of France, Ladrech defines Europeanization as an “incremental process reorienting the direction and shape of politics to the degree that EC political and economic dynamics become part of the organizational logic of national politics and policy-making” (Ladrech, 1994: 69). This definition of Europeanization emphasises dynamics of domestic adaptation to the European logic as well as the role played by processes of learning and policy change.

Börzel's definition focuses on the potential impact of the EU policy-making on the national institution and policy arenas. Europeanization is thus referred to as the "process whereby domestic policy areas become increasingly subject to European policy making" (Börzel, 1999: 574). However, this understanding leaves open questions about how policy arenas at the domestic level are likely to be influenced by the European-wide dynamic.

From a clear institutionalist standpoint, J. P. Olsen argues that "the most standard institutional response to novelty is to find a routine in the existing repertoire of routines that can be used" (Olsen, 2002: 932). Bulmer and Burch define Europeanization as "the extent to which EC/EU requirements and policies have affected the determination of Member States' policy agendas and goals" (Bulmer and Burch, 1998: 607). Also in these cases the analytical focus is mainly on the vertical, "top-down" channels of influence.

In the empirical attempt to gauge the scope of Europeanization in different national contexts, Green Cowles and her colleagues define Europeanization as "the emergence and development at the European level of distinct structures of governance, that is, of political, legal and social institutions associated with political problem solving, that formalize interactions amongst the actors, and of policy networks specializing in the creation of authoritative European rules" (Green Cowles, *et al.*, 2001: 1). According to their conceptualisation, Europeanization has led to a distinct and identifiable change in the domestic institutional structure of Member States. Domestic structures are here assumed as the dependent variable of the entire process, whose most significant component is institutions, both formal and informal. As such, even this definition does not contribute to fully demarcate the specific "interest area" of Europeanization as a field for empirical enquiry (Radaelli, 2004). Similarly, Knill and Lehmkuhl's definition stresses the EU action, wherein the process of integration is conceived as the independent variable. By differentiating between mechanisms of Europeanization, they point out three forms of "integration". These are "positive integration", associated with the prescription of institutional models, "negative integration", implying the alteration of the domestic

opportunity structure, and finally “framing integration”, that is associated with the alteration of the beliefs and expectations of domestic actors (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999).

To fill the conceptual gap, scholars redirected analytical attention towards the “compound” nature of the Europeanization process. In this vein Europeanization has been defined as “a complex process whereby national and sub-national institutions, political actors, and citizens adapt to, and seek to shape, the trajectory of European Integration in general, and EU policies in particular...the result is usually some convergence in policy outcomes, but of a kind that is neither widespread nor uniform” (Bomberg and Peterson, 2000: 7). For these scholars, patterns of causality are not easily distinguishable and the process assumes a multidimensional fashion of development.

Therefore, according to Radaelli, Europeanization is more likely to be understood as “a process of construction, diffusion and institutionalisation of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ‘ways of doing things’ and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process, and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourse, political structures and public policies” (Radaelli, 2003: 30).

The process of Europeanization may be associated with either continuity or change and potentially variable and contingent outcomes. Thus, “Europeanization as an analytical focus stresses key changes in contemporary politics, it highlights the adaptation of institutional settings in the broadest sense at different political levels in response to the dynamics of integration, the emergence of new, cross-national policy networks and communities, the nature of policy imitation and transfer between States and sub-national authorities. Furthermore, Europeanization points out the restructuring of the strategic opportunities available to domestic actors, as EU commitments, having a differential impact on such actors, may serve as a source of leverage” (Featherstone, 2003: 19).

When dealing with the concept of Europeanization and with the processes it underpins, some problematic methodological implications stand out. Within Europeanization, the

distinction between structure and agency is not an easy task, as well as clearly distinguishing between dependent and independent variables. Thus, to be profitably assessed, Europeanization needs to be seen “...as a problem, not a solution, as something that needs to be explained” (Radaelli, 2004: 4). It is important to focus on “whether and how the term can be useful for understanding the dynamic of the evolving European polity” (Olsen, 2002: 922); Europeanization has to be treated not as an end-State, but instead as a procedural device useful to explain changes and changing dynamics at various levels of government and policy making.

A possible analytical risk consists in attributing causality to the action of the EU – and to the EU-wide policy making – whereas changes may be the resultant of alternative dynamics and processes, such as purely domestic variables, global factors or the action of other macro-regional organizations acting within the European soil. Therefore, even when attempting to explain the potential transformative effect of the EU policy action, it is of crucial importance to account for alternative hypothesis or “rival mechanisms”; this in turn allows to highlight those factors, other than Europeanization, that may have brought along changes within domestic systems (Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2012).

To conclude on this point, we contend that *Europeanization is an interactive process wherein domestic systems of governance are in time changed by the diffusion of ideational construct, legal and social norms, regulations and instruments. These are first identified, negotiated, contested and agreed upon within the EU-wide arenas, and eventually used by domestic actors to shape their institutional orders.*

Emphasis is placed on the concept of “institutional orders”. These are systems of intertwined policy sectors and territorial regulation characterised by the interactive mediations “between sectoral regulation, usage of territory and the reproduction of the EU polity” (Carter and Smith, 2008: 266). Institutional orders are to be preferred to the traditional “levels” portrayal of the European policy insomuch as analytical attention is

redirected towards matters of power distribution, conflict and bargaining over resources as well as competitive dynamics within processes of territorial regulation.

2.4 The encounter between domestic systems and the EU

EU regulatory frameworks and rules, in the form of normal legislative productions (treaties, directives and regulations) and the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice (ECJ), can alter the *opportunity structure* of actors within domestic systems. This may enable domestic policy entrepreneurs to seize windows of opportunities (Kingdom, 1984) opening at time, so as to promote their interests within different policy domains.

Europeanization can also generate through *discursive impacts*. In this case *ideas* generated at the EU level are afterwards embedded in wider policy initiatives or in softer instruments for communication at disposal of the European Commission (i.e. White Papers or Green Papers, Communications). Ideas and discourses have the potential to favour change at both the domestic level and eventually at a wider scale by altering the perceptions of actors, and by changing their preferences, thus enhancing their influence on the existing institutional structures (Howorth, 2004; Jabko, 2006; Radaelli and Schmidt, 2004; Thatcher, 2004).

Despite research on Europeanization lends quite prominently to studying how domestic systems adapt to the provisions promoted by the EU, other modes than vertical influence have to be considered. These relate to measures falling outside the traditional Community method (Majone, 2005) and to processes of cooperation between governments without the direct intervention of the European legislator, as it is for instance the case within components of the Common Foreign and Security Policy and of the Justice and Home Affairs.

An example is given by the Open method of Coordination in the context of the Lisbon Agenda for growth and jobs. In the case of the OMC, in fact, the EU acts only as a facilitator for the agreement on policy tenets, which are then implemented at the domestic level via national legislation. Differently from other policy instruments, the OMC carries

the potential of favouring institutional coordination within the territorial systems of the Member States, thus creating the conditions for an improved horizontal and vertical synchronization of their policy action, both within the national boundaries and *vis a vis* the EU.

In this connection, the cooperation between Member States – as well as between other systems of territoriality – is facilitated by the action of the EU institutions, especially by means of “guidelines” to implement domestically. In these cases, domestic systems, rather than “being impacted” by the EU, *encounter* Europe via “socialization processes, ideational convergence, learning and re-definitions of policy paradigms and ideas” (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007: 38). Domestic actors can make different *usage* of the models and template originating within the EU-wide policy making, hence of their political construction (Jacquot and Woll, 2004; 2008; Pasquier, 2005). As a result, actors and institutions in local systems “re-appropriate EU norms and use them according to their strategies in domestic political systems” (Pasquier, 2005: 296). They may draw on the EU as a resource, also in the absence of constraints from Brussels¹⁴.

Therefore, Europeanization reflects multiple interactions between individuals and their actions within dynamics of domestic adaptation to “Europe”. Jacquot and Woll contend that the concept of usage allows to seize the links between political change and transformation and the ways actors are able to make use of the European integration process. *Usage* is defined as the set of “practices and political interactions which adjust and redefine themselves by seizing the European Union as a set of opportunities, be they institutional, ideological, political or organisational” (Jacquot and Woll, 2003: 4).

Patterns of adaptation and the logics of framing interactions between actors gain further complexity and diversification when the analysis focuses on sub-national units and the aim is to investigate the EU impact within local systems (Pasquier, 2005). Amongst

¹⁴ According to Pasquier, in this case a process of interactive policy transfer - “cognitive Europeanization” - would take place, whereby “knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions etc. in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place” (Dolowitz and Marsh, 2000: 334), cited in Pasquier, 2005: 296.

other factors, this can be attributed to both the inner complexity and mutual diversity between local systems in Europe – cities in particular – and to the fact that EU action towards sub-national units mainly deploys through instruments without a direct legislative and regulative impact on local administrations.

The nature of the *encounter* between “Europe” and domestic systems, may assume multiple fashions based on the character attached to the EU and to its action. Thus, instruments promoted by the EU may configure as necessary to adapt to a resource to exploit for domestic reforms, as a set of learning opportunities, or to channel new discourses or streamlining policy action. At the same time, though, the character of the encounter can be minimal, thereby not implying the alteration of stakes within domestic arenas (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2006).

To produce Europeanization effects, interactions occurring at the level of the EU – or within the EU wide arenas of policy – have to become a datum point for action at the domestic level. Therefore, for Europeanization to be present, the model promoted by the EU has to become a *referential* (Muller, 2000); namely a framework orienting or re-addressing the ways through which domestic actors and institutions perceive and act within the issue areas now targeted by the EU. This can occur either through socialization effects, or via the production of policies able to progressively alter the logics guiding political interactions at the domestic level (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2006).

2.5 Europeanization the urban way

By acting through networks and other arrangements, cities can account for “soft outcomes” (Schultze, 2003: 136) such as shaping and setting important parameters for the debate between institutions, influencing the policy agenda as regard urban issues, and getting their proposal into key documents useful for policy implementation.

European institutions involve cities as stakeholders in the policy process, especially in some policy areas and within specific programmes, such as URBAN Community Initiative

during the period 1994-2006. “Europeanization and sub-national mobilisation have thus *unlocked* cities from the often rather hierarchical constraints of the national system by allowing them to build trans-national coalitions, which suggest a careful re-labelling of cities as *policy makers*, at least for the urban dimension of the Structural Funds, but possibly also for other policy areas” (Schultze, 2003: 137).

A systematic analysis of the literature on Europeanization and public policy

Through the appraisal of the issue-contents of highly cited empirical studies on the impact of European public policy within domestic systems, this section refers more explicitly to issues of research design, level of analysis, theory and method in Europeanization research.

The aim of a systematic review of this kind is to bring into focus the methodological and analytical trends that scholars have hitherto endorsed when conducting empirical research via the Europeanization approach, thus revealing potential methodological flaws in the field, rather than those aspects that have not been sufficiently accounted for. In turn, by pointing out “analytical lacks” in the literature, or in one of its specific sub-fields, it is possible to suggest alternative agendas for research, particularly as to the methods, theories and research design to be employed when conducting empirical analysis on Europeanization.

Following the discussion on causal analysis, some categories of trade-offs can be identified. Thus, a debate on Europeanization can be organized between explanations rooted in *mechanisms* as opposed to *variable-oriented explanations*, where mechanisms have been variously identified in terms of “positive integration”, “negative integration” and “framing” (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 1999), general “horizontal” and “vertical” mechanisms, or “regulatory competition” and “learning” via facilitated coordination (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2005). Another trade-off concerns the divide between accounts that aim to explain the *causes of effects* as opposed to *effect of causes* studies, which are instead interested in tracking down how a specific cause – European integration for instance – yields different effects.

Additionally, empirical studies of Europeanization have been differently addressed by establishing *complex causation* or instead *linear causation* models for explanation. Non-linear econometric models, multiple conjunctural causations, qualitative comparative analysis, increasing returns, punctuated equilibriums and models characterised by changing causal logics according to different threshold levels of a variable can be comprised within models of complex causation (Hall, 2003; Pierson, 2004; Ragin, 1987). Linked to that, a distinction can also be made between analytical accounts attempting to reduce bias generated by neglecting some important variables – *omitted variables* – and analysis where an attempt is made to reduce bias arising out of the correlation between independent variables – *multi collinearity*¹⁵. In turn, this trade-off can be operationalised as one between trying to avoid multi-collinearity through parsimony or including as much relevant variables as possible through explanations based on a rich set of variables (Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2009). Yet, *concept formation* implies less analytical effort consecrated to *measurement* accounts, whilst *time* is considered by some, as a qualitative factor in politics, by others as quantity of years instead. Lastly, studies of Europeanization may endorse more *top-down*, or more *bottom-up* oriented research designs.

For the purpose of this review, only five trade-offs have been taken into account and in turn coded – causes of effects *vs.* effects of causes; concepts *vs.* measurements; parsimony *vs.* rich set of variables; bottom-up *vs.* top-down and mechanism oriented *vs.* variable oriented studies – whereas a second table has been created and coded accounting for a set of other variables.

Thus, does Europeanization provide evidence of awareness of research design debates, common to other fields of political science? What are the methodological choices made by scholars of Europeanization when they deal with some of the typical trade-offs in causal

¹⁵ Higher the number of independent variables accounted for in the explanatory attempt, the higher the likelihood of multi-collinearity. This can lead to situations where two or more explanatory variables are correlated to such a degree that it is impossible to separate their causal effects. Collecting additional information has been proposed as a way to provide more leverage in the differentiation of causal effects (King *et al.*, 1994: 119-123). Others have instead counter-argued that increasing the number of observations may lead to loose in terms of maintaining the independence of observations, measurement validity, and causal homogeneity (Brady and Collier, 2004: 48).

analysis? Yet, does the literature on Europeanization (and public policy) present a methodological lack that deserves further analytical attention?

In this case, the analysis has been performed by drawing on a sample of highly cited articles on Europeanization and public policy. The sample includes only empirical analyses under the form of articles; monographs, book chapters and edited volumes are not considered on this occasion. Hence, the analysis is deliberately based on a small-N sample, which does not allow for the application of quantitative techniques to achieve reliable results. Additionally, the sample is limited to researches on Europeanization in the field of political science, thus excluding productions in other cognate fields (political economy; socio-legal studies; environmental studies; sociology of European integration, etc.).

Therefore, I have compiled a sample of the literature on Europeanization based on the Social science Citation Index (SSCI) - (search on “Europeanization AND Politics” AND “Europeanization AND Policy” without period threshold), from which I have extracted the most frequently cited articles of the discipline. Those articles with a number of citations that falls below the H-index as calculated by the SSCI have also been excluded. The research refinement turned out in a sample of 25 Europeanization articles, cited at least 8 times (Table 1 in *Appendix*). I then created a scorecard (Table 2 in *Appendix*), which includes five of the aforementioned trade-offs. Each trade-off was then operationalised in three categories, pertaining to the two options of the trade-offs – respectively marked with “1” or “0” – or to the case of non-applicability, marked with “-1”.

Building on the same sample, a second scorecard has been created so as to include a series of variables that have been coded in a more “qualitative/nominal” way. Thus, articles in the sample have been appraised on the basis of the presence and nature of the research hypothesis underpinning the empirical account, of their theory/analytical framework, of the presence or absence of an explicit research design, of the main method used to accomplish the analysis, and of the size of the sample in the case of comparative analysis

(Table 3a in *Appendix*). In turn, also the “value” attributed to Europeanization has been accounted for, in order to establish the tendency to consider Europeanization as a dependent, rather than the independent variable of the study. Causal mechanisms and the qualitative/quantitative “divide” have been considered (Table 3b in *Appendix*). Finally, the table takes into account whether the focus of analysis is placed on politics, polity or policy – or a combination of perspectives –, as well as the type of policy considered, unit of analysis, level of analysis and the cases analysed (Table 3c in *Appendix*).

In terms of scoring the actual sample, according to the survey protocol, I have personally proceeded to code the sample, which has been peer reviewed by my thesis supervisor. Such a form of inter-coder reliability may not increase the validity of the actual scoring in a small sample like the one of this exercise; nonetheless it increases transparency and congruence (Krippendorff, 2004).

The coding phase demonstrates that most of the articles considered in the sample do not show actual awareness of the methodological trade-offs previously mentioned. In only a few cases (7 out of 25) articles do show an explicit section on research design; furthermore, the discussion on whether the empirical analysis was undertaken in regard of the “multi-collinearity *vs.* omitted variable” bias problem is seldom clear. In addition, in most cases, the “variables” considered in Table 3 - especially the theoretical framework underpinning the analysis and the assignment of the labels for the dependent and independent (s) variables – were only implied. This has required a careful consideration of the substance of the articles so as to glean, by interpreting, the choices made by the authors both in terms of research design and other methodological elements. A value of –1 was assigned in cases where trade-offs were not applicable to the study; on the other hand, “non-applicable” (N/A) was assigned to those categories that could not be clearly retrieved in the articles.

As to findings¹⁶, a first appraisal of the “trade-offs” scorecard shows that studies of Europeanization and public policy have mainly been carried out by endorsing a top-down research design; only 5 articles show an explicit usage of bottom-up research strategies (column 4: table 2). The distribution between causes of effects and effects of causes studies (column 1: table 2) is rather balanced– although the former category prevails on the second by one element – with only two elements of the sample that could not be assessed. Paying attention to the trade-off between concept and measurement (column 2: table 2), quite surprisingly, most of the articles focus on measuring Europeanization, or the impact of the EU action within domestic systems. Nonetheless, 5 out of 6 of the articles cited over 20 times ($8 \geq \text{cit.} \leq 72$) are addressed to concepts elaboration. Research on Europeanization seems to have been hitherto addressed with a strong preference for a rich set of explanatory variables over parsimony (column 3: table 2). Finally, the sample demonstrates that greater attention has been devoted to explaining the mechanisms through which the influence of the European Union eventually transmits at the domestic level rather than to correlate variables to explain the process (column 5: table 2). Even in this case, 4 out of the 5 most cited articles are mechanism-oriented, rather than focused on variables.

Results of table 1 show how the large majority of articles composing the sample were published in two main journals, namely the *Journal of European Public Policy* and the *Journal of Common Market Studies*, which count respectively nine and six sample-articles. More interestingly, perhaps, is the fact that in most of the articles reviewed, a research hypothesis – rather a research question – is clearly defined by the authors, with only 6 cases where the hypothesis underpinning the analysis cannot be identified. Where a research question is openly stated, it tends to be formulated as a ‘*what question*’. This can be assumed as a further demonstration that up to now the empirical analysis of Europeanization has been mainly addressed towards assessing mechanisms and domains of impact, rather than facing more variable-oriented ‘*why questions*’. As regards the theoretical framework at the bases of the

¹⁶ The tables herewith mentioned can be visualised in the Appendix.

analysis, only in one case it was not possible to extrapolate at least the overarching theoretical frame guiding the research. The sample is therefore quite neatly split between analyses clearly grounded in neo-institutional – sociological, rational, historical – accounts (8 entries) and studies where the main theoretical backing is social constructivism (7 entries). In turn, other theories or mixed theoretical frameworks are used by the authors to account for Europeanization, such as for instance ecological modernization (ID 2), two-level game approach (ID 6), integration theory (ID 14), yet policy process approach (ID 18) and party system theory (ID 24). As above anticipated, the scorecard (Table 3a) shows that the vast majority of articles do not present awareness of research design, which translates in the absence of an explicit or recognisable research design section; the research design is explicit only in 8 articles, regardless of the specific theoretical framework used. As to the method used to carry out the empirical analysis, the comparison of countries or policies (12 entries) scores higher than other methods such as the analysis of single cases (4 entries) or studies of a single policy (5 entries).

In this connection, studies endorsing neo-institutionalist accounts seem to have a preference for longitudinal (historical) comparisons of two-three countries (5) or for single case studies (3), whereas, when the analysis is grounded in social constructivist approaches the sub-sample spreads more uniformly between methods. Yet, when the analysis follows the comparative method, Europeanization tends to be assessed by comparing “small-N” groups of Countries; “large-N” comparison is used in only one case (Levi-Faur, 2004) to compare the EU-15 with a control group on non-European Countries. In turn, only the above-mentioned study is carried out via quantitative techniques and in only one other case the authors employ mixed methods (ID 4), whereas the quasi-totality of the sample-analyses are based on qualitative methodologies (23 entries). Additionally, Europeanization is maintained as the dependent variable of the analysis in only 4 cases, all of which are not associated with a “top-down” research design, whilst in 9 cases the process or dynamic of Europeanization is contended as the *explanans* for change within domestic systems. The

remaining twelve entries, do not clearly assume Europeanization neither as the dependent variable nor as one of the independent variables. Although the sample was constructed by explicitly taking into account studies on “Europeanization and Policy”, the scorecard shows a neat preference for the implementation analysis through accounting for one or more policies at a time (11 entries) or for a mixed account of both the policy and the politics domains (6 entries). When “policy-oriented analysis” is preferred, social policies are more prominently analysed (6 cases), followed by a preference for environmental policy (4 cases). Finally, as regards the level of analysis, it is worth noting that the vast majority of researches in the sample deal with the national level (22 cases), either exclusively or by accounting for other governmental dimensions. In only two cases regional and local units are exclusively taken into focus (IDs 3 and 11). Concerning the possible relation between the level of analysis and the theoretical framework, it seems that those studies addressing the national dimension are accomplished by employing different theories, although a slight preference can be accorded to neo-institutionalist accounts.

More specifically, within the field of European Studies, academic research on the relations between cities and the EU has been practically confined to the Structural and Cohesion Policy (Marshall, 2005; Zerbinati, 2004), or to those policy programmes clearly “holding the heading *urban* on their tin” (Cento Bull and Jones, 2006; Halpern, 2005; Tofarides, 2003), thus neglecting other dimensions where the encounter between Europe and urban systems is, theoretically at least, likely to yield transformative effects. The emphasis is often on in-depth analysis of changes occurred within the institutional structure of local government, triggered by the involvement of the city in specific initiatives for urban regeneration – URBAN CI – or more extended programmes for regional development, where cities administrations act in synergy with upper levels of government.

As a consequence, this narrow focus may bias any possible generalisation on the extent and scope conditions of the Europeanization of urban areas. These studies conceive

Europeanization mainly as a two-fold process of downloading new institutional models and uploading via policy networks and lobbying activities (Marshall, 2003; 2005). The process of Europeanization of cities and urban areas is eventually described – rather than measured or causally explained – and the influence of the action of the European Union partly prejudged due to scarce accuracy paid to the causal mechanisms likely to trigger change within urban systems.

The dependent variables of these analyses are often identified with the institutional arrangements of local government and eventually with the organisational structure put in place for the management and implementation of the EU programme under examination. The main flaw though, is the absence of a clear research design and reference to causal conditions eventually leading to change. This, in turn, makes it particularly difficult to disentangle the effects of the EU action – and thus to characterise or measure the process of Europeanization – from rival explanation based on alternative dynamics, such as for instance domestic processes of reform or international phenomena of policy diffusion.

An exception is provided by Zerbinati's comparative analysis of Europeanization in Italy and England where attention is accorded to both direct and indirect pathways for EU influence on local authorities. But also in this study the analysis is confined solely to the structural funds; this view is too narrow to generalise about the influence of the EU on urban systems. Somewhat different is the approach employed by Kern and Bulkeley in their study of transnational municipal networks in the context of local climate change policy.

The character of local policy networks in the field of climate change – they argue – is influenced by the process of Europeanization, thus assumed more as an *explanans* rather than the phenomenon to be explained. They portray municipal networks somehow as devices at disposal of cities to circumvent the power of the central State (Kern and Bulkeley, 2009). Their study therefore examines the structure of a specific set of municipal networks, rather than exploring the encounter between cities and the EU.

Turning to the field of urban studies, the EU is factored in as an intervening variable within a process where Europe is reduced to a mere functional context for the action of cities (Goldsmith, 1993b; Kubler and Le Galès, 2002; Piliutyte, 2007). The EU is therefore considered somewhat equal to other international governance contexts where due to an enlarged opportunity structure, cities and regions are confronted with new channels to exercise “para-diplomatic” activities beyond the control of the central government. Sometimes the action of the EU is explicitly addressed and an attempt is made to grasp the Europeanization of cities and urban areas; nonetheless the analysis is limited to accounting for the transnational activity of cities within network structures (Kubler and Piliutyte, 2007).

In these cases the analysis focuses on the intergovernmental relations between urban systems and other levels of governments within the hierarchically structured European polity – where cities are perceived as a lower level seeking to supersede the filtering power exercised by regional and central authorities. This kind of analysis, in turn, pays little attention, if any, to the policy action of the EU in terms of change of urban systems of governance. It neglects elements of research design and causation concerning Europeanization at the level of cities and local authorities¹⁷.

Urban policies, we submit, at both the domestic level and in the context of the European Union have instead to be considered as part of broader domains of public policies and their analysis should be therefore carried out accordingly. As claimed by Le Galès, “in analytical terms, it has been a common mistake to analyse urban policy as independent from changes in public policy in general” (Le Galès, 2007: 13). This is particularly the case when the attempt is to assess the systems-actors interplay in the context of the EU policy making.

¹⁷ For a review of research design issues in the field of Europeanization see Exadaktylos, T. and Radaelli, C.M. (2009) “Research Design in European Studies: The Case of Europeanization”, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 47(3): 507-30.

Therefore, the literature suffers from an overall lack of theoretically informed approaches to EU-related urban policies grounded on specific assumptions, which in turn has reinforced the tendency to preserve the dividing between European studies and urban studies within the discipline of political science.

2.6 Concluding remarks

The discussion in this chapter shows how the academic debate surrounding Europeanization remains lively and prone to produce competing understanding (Haverland, 2007; Radaelli and Exadaktylos, 2009b). This, in turn, proves both the true potential for Europeanization to yield new theories within other major disciplines (i.e. comparative politics and international relations) and the controversial nature of the concept. The existence of a distinctive EU system of interaction, and the “encounter” between the “EU” and domestic systems/actors are considered necessary factors for changes to occur within domestic systems, therefore as a necessary element for Europeanization to happen.

Research on Europeanization has led scholars to propose different mechanisms through which EU action – and in turn its impact on domestic systems – develops. Thus, explanations have been differently grounded in mechanisms of direct EU pressure, institutional compliance or regulatory competition. Most recently, to overcome the shortcoming of the “goodness of fit” argument, analytical attention has been paid to mechanisms of learning via facilitated coordination (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2005) and discourses legitimisation (Schmidt, 2002b; 2007; Schmidt and Radaelli, 2002). Yet, more general mechanisms of socialisation in the form of ideational transfer, exchange of knowledge and policy benchmarking (Radaelli, 2008) have been considered.

Nonetheless, studies of Europeanization grounded in mechanism-based explanations, fall short to reach satisfactory accounts of the connection between causes and effects of

Europeanization. In turn, they do fail to appropriately highlight the causal relations underpinning the procedural mechanisms through which the relation between Europe and domestic systems transmits. Attempts of measuring the process and its potential effects have been rather scarce in number, and often pivoted on matters of implementation or transposition of EU directives and regulations within domestic systems (Franchino, 2005b; Gilardi, 2005; Giuliani, 2003; Levi-Faur, 2004).

Empirical research on Europeanization has mainly focused on changes occurring within national structures of policy and politics, where institutional compliance – or lack of it – and pressures for adaptation are more likely to yield the transformation of existing arrangements.

When the level of analysis is centred on sub-national systems, notably regional authorities, Europeanization is generally assessed by considering structural programmes for regional development financed under the various funds enacting the Regional policy of the European Union. In these cases, Europeanization is usually thought as the diffusion of regional action beyond the borders of the State or as the action of regional networks at the EU level in an attempt to boost specific instances, instead of common policy requests (Jeffery, 2000; 1996; Jones and Keating, 1995; Pasquier, 2005; Piattoni and Smyrl, 1998). Instead, when the analysis focuses more prominently on institutional domestic structures, yet, it tends to almost exclusively point out change directly attributable to the implementation of specific structural programmes.

Local authorities – cities in particular – have almost been disregarded as a possible level of analysis to appraise the potential impact of the EU action. The “encounter between cities and the EU” can be thought both in terms of direct promotion of policies and – indirectly – as a model to draw on to legitimise discourses towards reforms, yet again as a system of forums where cities can interact to exchange policy practices and new ideas.

In those few cases where the relation between urban systems and the European policy-making has been assessed through the Europeanization approach, attention is generally

paid to the political sphere and in particular to the role of local leaders and to their political legitimacy, both locally and towards the central government (Borraz and John, 2004; John, 2000; Goldsmith and Larsen, 2004). Extended theoretical accounts supported by empirical evidence of the process of Europeanization within urban areas have seldom been offered hitherto. Analytical paucity, in this case, can be attributed to several reasons.

One of the reasons for the lack of analyses is that this issue-area falls in between dominant research domains, sub disciplines and research traditions. On one side, research on the EU is mainly based on theoretical approaches from IR and comparative politics, whereas urban studies usually confine the analysis within the State borders, thus partially neglecting the “foreign relations” of cities and moreover the role of city policy actors within the EU policy-making. Another reason has to do with the presumptive scarcity of empirical evidence as to the direct influence of the European action within urban systems.

This, in turn, has led to analyses solely on the promotion and implementation of the structural and cohesion policy of the EU in the localities. Finally – and most challenging – there is the issue of research design. Within a context area where the potential cases to be selected are in the vicinity of thousands, it appears more difficult to draw conclusions that can be generalised for 200,000 local authorities than doing the same based on the situation in 27 Member States.

MECHANISMS AND MODES OF EUROPEANIZATION

3.1 Introduction

Not only do cities access the policy arena at the EU level, they also exert influence and partial control over policy outcomes. European institutions involve cities as stakeholders in the policy process, especially in some policy areas and within specific programmes. Therefore, the new set of opportunities offered by the intervention of the EU at the urban level suggests a cautious re-labelling of cities as policy makers, at least for the urban dimension of the Structural Funds, but possibly also for other policy areas.

The decision to terminate specific programmes addressed to cities after 2007 and to incorporate them into wider regional policies has opened up questions as to the place and role of cities and urban actors within the EU. At the same time, though, the development of an urban policy of the European Union seems to be still far from an effective fulfilment.

Nonetheless, the Lisbon Strategy brings European cities at the forefront of the EU-led policy making and urban territories become centres for regulation and the promotion of crosscutting integrated policies. Finally, cities are also a key component of the attempts to create new loci of legitimacy for the EU and to learn through experimental governance and via the Open method of Coordination by tapping the benefits of local knowledge (Sabel and Zeitlin, 2008; Zeitlin and Trubek, 2003).

The chapter sheds light on different instruments, mechanisms and modes of Europeanization of urban politics by adopting a conceptual perspective informed by theoretical policy analysis.

When researchers try to identify the policies of the EU affecting the urban political domains, they look for those EU programmes with “cities” on the tin, that is, the policies

formally identified by the EU as targeting cities. This is a major pitfall since the identification of the units of policy analysis is a task of the researcher, and often formal-legalistic definitions are incomplete. To illustrate, no serious researcher would think of studying the welfare policies of the EU by running a “word-search” on the official websites or legislative datasets looking for “welfare”. Instead, she would most likely start from a theoretical definition of “welfare”, think about its applications to the EU domains, and then identify empirical manifestations of the conceptual constructs suggested by literature. This is the aim of this chapter. This is particularly relevant, because most of the literature on cities has followed a kind of formal or legalistic approach.

The chapter sorts out Europeanization mechanisms by starting from the identification of ideal-types of arenas – or “fora” in the tradition of French political science (Jobert, 2003). The arenas can be ideational, distributive or regulatory. In turn, mechanisms have a differential impact on the domestic (city) domains of policy (i.e. actors, instruments, resources, styles and cognitive structures of policies) and eventually on the political structures of urban areas (administrative, representative and cognitive/normative). Throughout the chapter, the framework of Europeanization will be used to reveal causal mechanisms and the scope conditions at the bases of the encounter between cities and the EU wide policy making arenas.

The organisation of the chapter is the following. First we will assess some of the questions regarding the role of cities within the territorial organisation of the European polity. Section 3 presents the debate on policy instruments and accounts for the promotion of EU policy instruments in urban areas; the following section draws on actor-centred institutionalism and game theory to illustrate different archetypal game models to exemplify the logic of interaction between cities and the EU. We will then draw on theoretical policy analysis and suggest a *static* theorisation of the interplay between cities and the European Union – building on the literature on policy arenas and mechanisms. This will enable us to

situate the EU policy instruments affecting urban politics and policy in a coherent framework of arenas and mechanisms.

Having provided a conceptual overview of arenas and mechanisms, in the last section we move to a *dynamic* framework for the empirical analysis of Europeanization of cities, thus reaching the conclusion that despite the paucity of specific policy initiatives and programmes having an explicit “urban label”, there are several avenues and pathways through which cities encounter Europeanization. Concepts outlined in this chapter provide the springboard for the empirical assessment of the process of cities Europeanization that will be carried out in Section II.

3.2 For a Public Policy Analysis of cities Europeanization

The process of European integration is accompanied by the creation of a growing bulk of legislation, rules and policy initiative that, with different degrees of influence, may impact on European cities. Additionally, the EU official rhetoric often portrays cities as “powerful agents of legitimisation” (Le Galès, 2007) by designating cities and urban areas as “target population” (Schneider and Ingram, 1993) where to re-address new citizenship discourses.

The idea of “Europe of cities” is also one of the components of the European polity in this legitimising discourse. In turn, this is giving urban systems and other actors within their boundaries, new legitimacy and resources to act within the various systems of governance characterising the policy making of the European Union.

In this connection, urban policies are the resultant of policy making within multiple territorial and administrative units. When “new urban policies” are introduced, regardless of the source of their promotion, they are likely to ensue from a mixture of new provisions and existing long lasting traditions in promoting public policy. Therefore, innovation and change within urban policies are generally incremental processes following “path dependant” dynamics. Policy novelty is most often an addition to existing programmes,

which are now reassembled and reframed. The “urban experiment” of the EU is the resultant of different State traditions in promoting and managing issues of economic development, social protection and environmental regeneration at the local level (Le Galès, 2007).

The high variety of responses thus far offered by cities involved in EU-led urban programmes clearly shows how Europeanization is one amongst other core aspects of governance at the urban level. Therefore, urban-city Europeanization as a research agenda needs to be considered as a compound process whose analysis has to take into account other transforming dynamics, such as domestic and international processes.

Therefore, the concepts of participation and power deserve greater analytical attention. Participation is not a panacea for the effective involvement of actors in policy-making. Yet, even in connection to participation, past policy arrangements have to be taken into account as well as the long-standing inequalities in the distribution of powers within different administrative systems and between groups of actors. Participation is context-centred and specific (Jones, 2003). Participation, either into networks or in other more traditional forms, underpins power relationships and normative constraints. Participating, in turn, does not necessarily imply the possibility to shift existing power relations towards accruing self-benefits. Therefore, it is useful to approach the policy-polity relation with a theory of power distribution and assignment of authority able to account for the distribution of gains from the process of Europeanization and the dynamic of conflict management within different policy domains.

In turn, each of the aforementioned processes is likely to underpin different logics of action, as well as mechanisms through which these logics transmit. When Europeanization is related to EU action through the promotion of specific programmes for urban regeneration it is more likely to translate via processes of bargaining and negotiation, implying at times complex dynamics of compensation and conflict resolution within different policy arenas. Additionally – also in the case of urban systems – EU action

increasingly transmits by means of regulatory provisions generating impacts on the pre-existing regulatory systems within cities. Thus, new sets of regulations boost mutual learning processes between actors and institutions towards efficiency in the pursuit of renewed policy objectives.

Therefore, to assess the nature of the process of Europeanization in the case of urban governance, researchers need to look at different policy areas involving cities across Europe.

However, this step has been somewhat hindered by the implicit shortcomings of the Multi-Level Governance approach (Marks, *et al.* 1996). The tabloid version of MLG, which appears in studies of Europeanization of sub-national systems, reduces Europeanization to the interplay between hierarchically ordered levels of governance, where sub-national levels and central States are maintained as competing or adversarial, due to the attempt of lower levels to evade “central control”¹⁸. Thus, sub-national actors and institutions are usually treated as constituting a unique and static layer of governance (Carter and Smith, 2008: 265-266).

To partially overcome these drawbacks, this appraisal draws on an approach grounded in public policy analysis (Carter and Smith, 2008). In particular, we will focus on the different European policy arenas – orders – within which actors and institutions relate interchangeably in order to attain specific policy goals. Processes of interest formation, strategic decision-making and regulatory competition taking place over time in the context of policy orders have the potential to influence the character of Europeanization and eventually the features of domestic politics within different domains. Policy arenas, as well as the institutional and individual actors therein involved, have to be conceived as constituting dynamic systems, where cities are sometimes EU-level actors, sometimes the recipients of the Commission’s programmes, yet the places where EU regulatory measures

¹⁸ More sophisticated conceptualisation of MLG can be found in recent works of Bache and Flinders (2004), Hooghe and Marks (2010) and Piattoni (2010).

and provisions are actually implemented. Either way, they are not pigeonholed in the lower layer of governance by definition (Carter and Smith, 2008).

The analysis of cities Europeanization offers room to apply the “sharp public policy analysis tools” evoked by Carter and Smith by accounting for the nature and use of *policy instruments*, an approach that has been rarely used until now in the studies of cities in the EU. Focusing on policy instruments as well as on the mechanisms through which these instruments are likely to be promoted, and reacted to, allows to move beyond functionalist approaches by at the same time integrating the understanding of the new forms of networked governance (Rhodes, 1997) with the mechanisms for the control and direction of behaviour (Hood, 1998).

3.3 Policy Instruments and the “new” tools of public intervention

Discussion on policy instrumentation – instruments – has gained renovated vigour in so far as the internationalisation of the economy and dynamics of regional institutionalisation have shown the partial inefficacy of some governmental tools traditionally employed for public intervention.

A policy instruments perspective may be advantageous when the overall attempt is to seize the pace of influence and transformation of the EU policy-making on the functioning of urban systems of governance as well as on the interplay between actors in the EU-wide policy arenas. Looking at the policy instrumentation governments are endowed with – in this case the European Union – reveals particularly convenient within a realm – *urban policy* – where the EU does not have a specific and formal competence and where interactions between “cities” and the EU are likely to take place within multiple policy areas and at different stages of the policy process.

Therefore, a policy instruments perspective in the analysis of Europeanization may simplify the task of accounting for the high number of activities carried out by the EU

policy machinery. Additionally, unpacking the set of instruments promoted by the EU provides insights into the long-term purposes of “the legislator” as well as on the degree of fulfilment the promotion of tools will eventually reach. Hence, instrument-based accounts “can provide some antidote to the all-too-commons assumption in government affairs that things could not possibly be handled in any other way than they are at present” (Hood, 1983: 9).

Policy Instruments: definitions and classifications

Policy programmes – and public policies more in general – are performed through multiple instruments, which in turn embed specific sets of policy tools.

Despite the technicality of the decisions leading to the choice of instruments to carry out a specific policy strategy, the process of tools selection is inherently political. This is especially true when the policy-making takes place within multiple territorial and policy arenas. Specific instruments give some actors – and in turn some of the ideas these actors seek to promote – a certain degree of advantage in establishing how policies will be carried out, thus contributing to promote certain sets of interests and preferences over others. The choice of tools is also profoundly affected by cultural norms and ideological tendencies. Once in place, instruments contribute to frame public attitudes toward the State, or the governmental body – such as the EU – in charge of their initial promotion (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007).

Instruments for policy action have been variously defined and classified. In this connection, *one sided analyses* focus on specific fields of policy, whereas *cross-sided analyses* attempt to look at the whole range of instruments used by governments across the entire spectrum of public action. This has opened the way for more comprehensive analyses of governmental activity in response to earlier systematizations of public policy performed in the form of typologies (Hood and Margetts, 2007).

Instruments of public action can be defined as “an identifiable method through which collective action is structured to address a public problem” (Salamon, 2002a: 19) or likewise, as “the set of techniques by which governmental authorities wield power in attempting to ensure support and effect or prevent social change” (Vedung, 1998: 21). Thus, policy instruments, or tools, are clearly identifiable on the bases of common features, but can vary in their design. In this case, tools are maintained as means to structure relationships and courses of actions, thus assuming the character of institutionalised forms. As a result, policy instruments may be conceived as “institutions” (Peters, 1999; Pierson, 1993; 2000; Powell and Di Maggio, 1991) embedding specific criteria for the selection of actors, for role attribution and for the establishment of the rules of interaction. Yet, instruments are identified as devices structuring collective actions to solve public problems, hence implying the involvement of actors other than the sole governmental bodies (Salamon, 2002a: 20).

Distinction is made between policy instruments and other devices for public intervention, such as techniques and tools. In this vein instruments are interpreted as types of social institutions; techniques would represent concrete devices through which instruments are operationalised. The latter – tools – are instead defined as micro devices within a technique (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007)¹⁹. Additionally, policy action may be analytically framed by disentangling between instruments or tools, and more comprehensive policy initiatives whereby different combinations of policy instruments are brought into practice. In this case, instruments are distinguished from programmes – which embody the tools to apply in different circumstances – and policies, which are instead collections of programs targeted at addressing general objectives within similar fields. In turn, a single policy may employ a single tool – instrument – or instead a range of tools.

¹⁹ For instance, census taking may be conceived as an instrument as well as statutory regulation or taxation, whereas statistical nomenclature or specific types of laws and decrees are techniques for their operationalisation. The specific categories for statistical representation, peculiar types of obligation and the eventual presence of sanction are instead to be considered as the tools through which techniques are put into practice.

Salamon further distinguished between the *internal* instruments used by governments to handle “in-office” operations, and *external* tools, which by contrast are used to affect target portions of the society (Salamon, 2002b).

Policy instruments can also be classified according to their constitutive elements, including *type of good*, *delivery vehicle*, *delivery system* and *sets of rules* defining the relations within the delivery system. In turn, each instrument would be characterised by descriptive criteria for its evaluation in terms of *efficiency*, *effectiveness*, *equity*, *manageability* and *policy feasibility*, as well as on the bases of various dimensions useful for their analytical grouping –*coerciveness*, *directness*, *automaticity* and *visibility* (Salamon, 2002b).

Other analyses have more prominently focused on the behavioural assumptions guiding the process of instruments selection. Schneider and Ingram differentiate between five categories on the bases of the behaviours that policy programmes seek to modify. Thus, policy instruments may be grouped in *authority tools*, *incentive tools*, *capacity tools*, *symbolic or hortatory tools* and *learning tools*. In particular, a focus on the behavioural dimension of policy tools would favour the comparative analysis of the relationship between policy instruments and policy participation by target populations across policy types (Schneider and Ingram, 1990).

Here, we endorse a definition according to which a *public policy instrument* is a “device that is both technical and social, that organises specific relations between the State and those it is addressed to, according to the representations and meanings it carries. It is a particular type of institution, a technical device with the generic purpose of carrying a concrete concept of the politics/society relationship and sustained by a concept of regulation” (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007: 4).

The process of instruments selection is made of political choices, in turn underpinning specific relations between actors and institutions involved in their choice. For the purpose of this research, policy instruments are strategies that produce their own effects, regardless

of the final result they are meant to trigger; they are policy apparatus embedding specific forms of knowledge as to the exercise of social control.

Additionally, policy instruments are political constructs (Schneider and Ingram, 1993) resulting from conflict over definitions of problems. Instruments may be conceived as institutional forms framing the interactions and behaviours of actors and organisations; they affect relations of power, by at the same time privileging certain actors and some interests over others (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007).

Changing instruments of urban policy

Urban policies and programmes, at the level of both national and local government – and more recently under the initiative of the European Union – were thought and then re-designed in order to face what is generally labelled the “urban crisis” (Le Galès, 2007), which caused the partial decline of the most industrialised regions of Western Europe.

In particular, the economic crisis hitting Europe during the 1970s entailed side-processes of de-industrialisation, marginalisation of the working class, the appearance of new forms of poverty, increasing unemployment, the partial restructuring of the labour market and the increasing recourse to forms of privatisation in the provision of services and utilities within urban and metropolitan areas.

In an attempt to tackle the problematic implications of the economic and industrial decline faced by many cities, urban policies were partially refocused. Hence, preference was given to policy programmes characterised by multi-instrumental provisions, integrated nature – whereby a specific programme covers various policy areas – and by an increasing appeal to horizontal methods for management and implementation.

In the context of the European Union, the traditional prerogatives of the State administrations diminished within a number of issue areas, wherein the action of other international and macro-regional institutional bodies has contextually expanded, thus exposing public policy to the intertwined influence of multiple regulators. The agreement

on the free movement of goods and people, in particular, has enabled enterprises to venture new and wider markets, and social actors to gain increasing capacities to access public goods and political legitimisation beyond the State borders.

This renewed policy environment and the dynamics characterising the interplay between actors have led to the search for a new analytical framework able to seize the novelties of the changing policy scenario. According to the advocates of the *new governance* paradigm for instance, the policy making would increasingly be collaborative and based on the action of a range of third parties, alongside the government, for the provision of public services and the pursuing of public purposes (Salamon, 2002a).

The policy making is therefore pictured as relying to a greater extent on partnership arrangements between public and private actors, whereas in classical public administration accounts the parties are usually considered as competing for the provision of public services. Therefore, ‘New Governance’ policy environments are thought as responding to a renewed approach to public management, in which process of command and control – characterising the traditional management approach – are replaced by processes of negotiation and persuasion during the phases of negotiation and implementation of policies and programmes. Contextually, analytical emphasis shifts from management skills and the control of large bureaucratic organization, to those skills enabling the involvement of an enlarged set of actors and partners within network assets, as well as to favour coordination to attain common policy goals in situations of high interdependence (Salamon, 2002a: 9-11).

In this connection, policy instruments are conceived as linking devices between different policy areas and programmes, rather than devices for the development of “less politicised” arrangements, nonetheless fostering, at times, mechanisms aimed at the control and direction of behaviours (Hood, 1998).

Social Mechanisms and the value of mechanistic explanation

A focus on mechanisms allows to highlight the constellation of *entities* and *activities* that are interconnected one another, thus bringing about specific types of outcomes (Hedström, 2005; Hedström and Swedberg, 1996; Machamer, *et al.*, 2000). Social mechanisms constitute powerful tools to attain causal explanations of the phenomena under analysis.

Specifically, mechanism-based explanations, as opposed to statistical explanations and covering-law explanations, allow to better distinguish between causality and coincidental association, by at the same time increasing the understanding of the potential reasons triggering the observed event or process (Hedström and Swedberg, 1996). Yet, differently from other types of explanations, accounts based on social mechanisms bring the added value of revealing the processes underpinning the relationships under analysis (Bunge, 1967; 2004).

Sorting out the potential generative mechanisms for change facilitates the task of specifying the causal agents at the foundation of the observed relationship between the entities under analysis. Causal agents correspond to individual actors; social mechanisms therefore refer to the causes and potential consequences of individuals' actions. In the context of sociological theories – which generally aim at explaining social outcomes – individuals constitute the entities and their actions and interactions represent the activities responsible for the occurrence of the social phenomena to be explained. In turn, the different ways entities are linked together – *structures of interaction* – influence the character and nature of the social outcome at stake. Therefore, activities, as different interrelations of entities, are the actual producers of change, “they are constitutive of the transformations that yield new States of affairs or new products” (Machamer, *et al.*, 2000: 4).

Mechanistic-type explanations must be attentive to the interaction between causal mechanisms and the context in which they operate. In turn, this calls for adapting concepts and measurements of the variables under analysis to the specific circumstances in which

they are applied and where they occur (Falleti and Lynch, 2009)²⁰. Therefore, causation is to be retrieved, not only in the attributes of the unit of analysis, but also in the mechanisms framing the interplay between different structures of interaction.

Amongst other definitions²¹, mechanisms can be defined as “precise, abstract, and action-based explanation, which shows how the occurrence of a triggering event regularly generates the type of outcome to be explained” (Hedström and Swedberg, 1996). A causal mechanism is a “series of events governed by law-like regularities that lead from the *explanans* to the *explanandum*” (Little, 1991: 14). As such, the mechanisms in operation are not always directly observable, their existence is likely instead to be conjectured by means of hypotheses and imagination corroborated by available data (Bunge, 2004). In this respect, mechanisms represent simplified assumptions referring to subsets of potentially important events having the potential of accounting for what happened; mechanisms find their theoretical and analytical value in their capacity to “produce interesting hypothesis or explanations at the higher level” (Stinchcombe, 1991: 27).

In this connection, causal mechanisms – and social mechanisms in this case – can be conceptualised as factor-links connecting independent variables and dependent variables.

Differently from explanations based on probability statements, which usually entail a direct link between the presence of a certain input and the occurrence of outcomes ($I \rightarrow O$), in this case the occurrence of a certain outcome, if a certain input is present, is the resultant of the mediation of specific mechanisms ($I \rightarrow M \rightarrow O$).

Mechanisms are *relational concepts* (Abbott, 2007). They describe and make sense of the interactions taking place among the units of analysis. Therefore, mechanisms bear a different ontological position compared to variables. Social mechanisms reveal different relations between actors, different modes through which individuals frame their beliefs

²⁰ Similar arguments have been emphasised by other scholars such as in Adcock, A. and Collier, B. (2001) “Measurement validity: a shared standard for quantitative and qualitative research”, *American Political Science Review* 95(3): 529-546.

²¹ For an extended overview of the definition of mechanisms see (Mahoney, 2001).

and expectations. Yet, they reveal how institutions may resist to, or instead curve change and how different policy measures are likely to transmit and to impact on target populations. Causal mechanisms do not operate in a deterministic manner. If a certain – pre-conjectured – mechanism operates, it is not certain it will systematically produce the same outcome of interest, as instead argued by other accounts (Mahoney, 2001).

A detailed characterisation of hypothetical mechanisms of Europeanization helps to reduce theoretical fragmentation thus highlighting possible structural resemblances between processes. Furthermore, – by connecting entities with activities in terms of the potential outcome they are supposed to regularly bring about – mechanisms increase the possibility to sort out the causal relationships between a certain cause and its effects (Hedström, 2005).

Therefore, when we say “mechanisms of Europeanization” we refer to theoretically justified patterns of interaction that may bring about Europeanization. We do not prejudge the degree of Europeanization that may eventually occur. We do not even make the assumption that, since there is a theoretically-derived mechanism that produces Europeanization, the mechanisms will operate. Indeed empirically, one may find constraining or countervailing mechanisms. Thus, we leave the matter of “how much Europeanization” out of this conceptual exercise.

We contend that when considering the range of programmes and policy initiatives promoted by the European Union – either those directly addressed to cities and urban areas, or those promoted in the context of wider actions having nonetheless the potential to influence the management of public policies within urban systems of policy-making – analytical attention should focus more narrowly on the commonalities and differences of policies on the basis of the set of instruments deployed among different areas.

In turn, policy instruments underpin different sets of mechanisms for their transmission. A well-known mechanism of Europeanization is the *goodness of fit* (Börzel,

1999; Green Cowles, *et al.*, 2001). Bringing forwards the discussion, Knill and Lehmkuhl contend that the range of mechanisms is broader (Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002). Their set of mechanisms includes Europeanization by explicit adaptational pressures – *institutional compliance* – considered as the principal mechanisms characterising those policy areas of “positive integration” (Scharpf, 1999), *regulatory competition* and *framing* domestic beliefs and expectations. Additionally, there are situations in which the action of the European Union can affect national policy systems even in the absence of clear EU directives or regulation.

It is actually the case of those areas of *facilitated coordination*. Here, the key actors are domestic governments (Bulmer and Radaelli, 2005), and mechanisms of *learning* and *discourses legitimisation* trigger transformations within the EU as an arena for the exchange of best practices and ideas. Some of the *modi operandi* typical of the open method of coordination become particularly relevant in the case of sub-national authorities. The lack of resources and the need for information often characterising the action of cities within the EU-wide policy making, may favour collective forms of action and dynamics of policy learning and processes of diffusion of best practices between local authorities.

3.4 Actor constellations and game representations

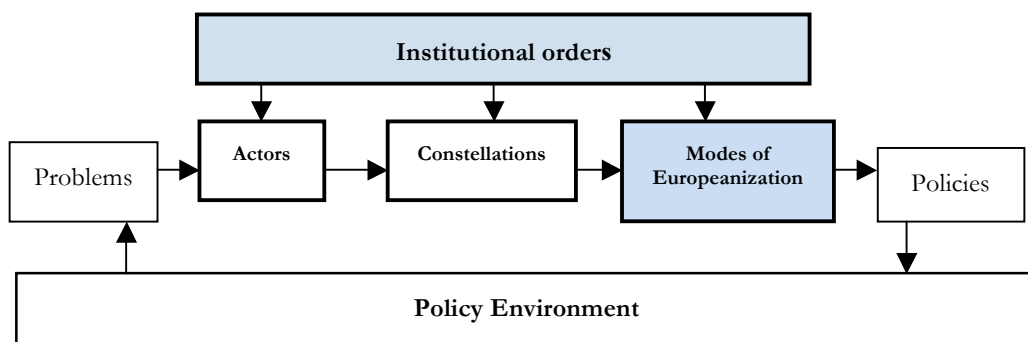
Drawing on Scharpf’s interaction-oriented policy research programme, the purpose of our research is “to identify the set of interactions that actually produces the policy outcomes that are to be explained” (Scharpf, 1997: 43), which are part of the Europeanization of different arenas within urban systems. Since we are mainly concerned with the character of the encounter between the EU policy making and cities, what is relevant are the actions within different *institutional orders* (Carter and Smith, 2008), therefore the rules establishing competencies, right of participation and eventually prescriptions in the specific policy process taken into consideration.

Thus, what really matters is the assemblage – *constellation* – of actors involved in the policy interaction upon a specific policy issue. Yet, according to Scharpf, a constellation

“describes the players involved, their strategy options, the outcomes associated with strategy combinations (*in terms of payoffs*), and the preferences of the players over these outcomes” (Scharpf, 1997: 44).

Game theoretic representations assume – in the context of this research – the form of a combination between a “specific actor constellation” forming in specific circumstances and in the course of a definite lapse of time, and a specific “mode of interaction” that we associates with specific mechanisms. However, it is relevant to highlight how both aspects of the game – actor constellations and modes of interaction – can vary independently from one another, and both have explanatory power.

Figure 3.1 Interaction-oriented policy research: the domains



Source: adapted from Scharpf 1997: 44

Game-theoretic representations allow describing and eventually comparing different constellations. In the context of our research, this allows to eventually gain leverage in terms of the potential generalisation of the model and to discover regularities in the deployment of specific causal mechanisms of Europeanization.

As recalled by Radaelli in his study of coordination in international tax policy “the games real actors can play inevitably are complex, yet it is useful to draw upon the insight provided by game-theoretic models for understanding the structure of strategic interaction and then move on to consider the more dynamic aspects of the policy process with the aid of *new institutional theory*” (Radaelli, 1998: 15 *italics added*).

To paraphrase Scharpf “what matters in the present context is that the explicit conceptualisation of actors constellations provide the crucial link between substantive policy analysis and interaction-oriented policy research” (Scharpf, 1997: 45) with the overall intention of revitalising Lowi’s call for a political theory that will treat “policy” as an independent variable influencing the types of politics that will be encountered.

For the purpose of this research, we explore the analytical tools offered by game theory (McCain, 2009; McCarty and Meirowitz, 2007). To exemplify interactions within the Modes of Europeanization in our typology – as presented in the following section – we make reference to well-known game models with strong implications for the mechanisms we aim to unravel. Thus, interactions producing over specific policy issue between cities and the EU within the European-wide policy making may be represented according to the logics of the following archetypal game models:

Cheap-talk and signalling games

Arenas where deliberation and framing are the principal mechanisms of interaction may be exemplified through different games of *Cheap Talk* and more generally the class of imperfect information games – *signalling games* – involving interaction between a more informed agent, the sender (i.e. the EU, the Commission in our case) and a less informed agent, the receiver (cities in the case of this research). In this case, the sender moves first (McCarty and Meirowitz, 2007). In this sense, the main difference between games of signalling and cheap talk lies in the fact that cheap talk is generally considered as communication between players, which does not directly affect the payoffs of the game, whereas in signalling, sending certain messages may be costly for the sender depending on the state of the world²².

In a cheap talk game, messages have no *direct* impact on payoff functions. If the receiver ignores the message, the sender’s payoff is unaffected. But if the receiver acts, then

²² For a formal modelling of the signalling game and dynamic games of incomplete information see McCarty and Meirowitz (2007), ch. 8.

the sender might be affected. Usually, these are coordination games, where given the true state of the world that the sender knows, his preferred receiver-action is positively correlated with the receiver's preferred receiver-action (Rasmussen, 2007).

However, the sender's action might affect the payoffs for both parties by changing the receiver's action. There are cases, in fact, where the conveyed information is not exogenous private information and cheap talk is indeed used to coordinate action, without, nonetheless guaranteeing efficiency in games; even unlimited cheap talk does not necessarily lead to Pareto-efficient outcomes (Farrell, 1993; Farrell and Rabin, 1996).

Some conditions must hold for cheap talk to affect the outcomes of the game. In particular, the *receiver must care about the type of sender*; on the contrary only the receiver's action may affect his payoffs. Additional conditions relate to the fact that *different sender types must have different preferences* and to the necessity for the sender and the receiver to have *non-opposite preferences*.

Thus, "cheap talk" can be an important feature of the interactive game played by actors, but it cannot be considered as a game in its own. In fact, cheap talk situations can be utilised at different stages within different types of game situations (Ben-Pohrat, 2003). One example is the *free trade model*²³. It can be considered as exemplificative of this policy, where reiterated communication and learning can transform an initial zero-sum situation into positive sum games (Ellingsen and Östling, 2010).

Battle of the sexes game

The conditions that characterise modes where the action of the EU mainly deploys through regulatory measures can be analytically represented by a *Battle of the Sexes* game, and more generally by the class of "games of coordination with conflict over distribution" (Scharpf, 1997).

²³ The game is usually represented as a particular application of the Prisoners' Dilemma. The model depicts a situation where repeated interaction over an infinite number of periods would allow cooperation to be sustained by the reward of the good equilibrium and the sanction of the bad. For a formal modelling of the situation see McCarty and Meirowitz (2007), ch. 9.

According to the logic of the game, the parties involved in the interaction have a common interest in coordinating their choices in order to reach welfare-superior outcomes (S.A-s.A and S.B-s.B) although the parties are initially orientated towards different options. In particular, if the game is played as a non-cooperative one with simultaneous moves in the absence of prior communication there is no certainty of reaching the preferred outcomes. Nonetheless, communication and binding agreements do not solve these difficulties; in fact, disagreement over the coordinated outcomes with different distributive characteristics would still persist. Hence, agreement over outcomes is eventually reached since both sides still prefer to accept the less attractive outcome rather than fall in a situation of non-coordination.

| $\begin{smallmatrix} 1 \\ 2 \end{smallmatrix}$ | S. A | S. B |
|--|--------|--------|
| s. A | 1 3 | 0 0 |
| s. B | 0 0 | 3 1 |

This is actually the case in European environmental policy – and notably the case for the negotiation over the contents of the Packaging Waste Directive –, where the competition between those “activist” Member States willing to establish

common European regulations at high levels leads to a “race” for uploading solutions as aligned as possible to their national regulatory system to the EU level, thus lowering the costs of adjustment (Héritier, 1996). In our case though, interaction is more likely to be played conforming to a non-cooperative, but sequential game.

In this case, the party that has the first move selects its preferred outcome and it would be in the other part’s best interest to coordinate on the same outcome. In this occurrence – as previously illustrated – communication and negotiations will not necessarily lead to outcomes that are socially superior to unilateral action. Thus, a first pattern of coordination is generated during the problem definition and agenda setting phases, when, following the strategic *first move* of a Country, all the other countries “adjust” to the position of the first mover, which succeeded in defining the scope and eventually the instruments to deal with the policy problem now part of the EU agenda (Héritier, 2002;

Scharpf 2000)²⁴. This also means – Scharpf argues – that in constellations resembling the Battle of the Sexes, “the choice of the second mover will be adjusted so as to achieve perfect coordination, even if a different outcome would initially have been preferred” (Scharpf, 1997: 111).

Overall, the success of the first mover depends on the eventual adoption of its proposal by the Commission that acts as “gate keeper” for the possible translation of the first mover strategy into a corresponding EU proposal²⁵. Further patterns of coordination – Héritier contends – are likely to emerge during different phases of the policy process, depending on the specific nature of the instrument at stake. For the purpose of our analysis, the European Commission acts as first mover vis-à-vis cities, which in turn are also subject to further regulatory provisions by central governments, and eventually to plans established at the regional administrative level.

In this connection, the logic of action at the base of the regulatory measures considered in this research does not entirely conform to the logic of the Prisoners’ dilemma, but to the Battle of the Sexes-archetypal models (Krasner, 1991)²⁶. If regulation consists of making efficient movements within the Pareto frontier on the bases of persuasion and reasoning, then the logic is of standard setting, which almost invariably conforms to “battle of the sexes”- game types, or to similar game models of coordination. Prisoners’ dilemma is used instead to represent dynamics of tax competition and social dumping (Radaelli, 1998).

²⁴ Adjustment in this sense presents the features of modes of “mutual adjustment” as presented by Scharpf (1997), or instead dynamics of “parametric adjustment” as presented by Lindblom (1965), where actors are likely to reach Nash equilibrium outcomes at which they will remain insofar as long as their available strategies, their associated outcomes and the preferences of actors over this outcome are stationary. Therefore, National governments would continue to adopt their policy nationally in response to, or in anticipation of, the policy choices of other governments.

²⁵ The role of the Commission is further strengthened in this sense by an EU decision that obliges Member States to inform the Commission about all relevant community drafts of national primary and secondary legislation on which the Commission is thereafter supposed to notify about possible EU legislative actions in the same area. This establishes a direct link between national and European policy initiatives, thus eventually favouring the diffusion of national measures via European legislation (Héritier, 2002).

²⁶ Also see McAdams (2008) for a detailed differentiation between the Prisoners’ dilemma and other coordination games.

Those are also regulatory problems, although they are different from those at the center of this research.

In the case of coordination games of this type, the time factor plays a relevant role; in fact, the reiteration of the game makes players more sensitive to the distributional character of the outcomes arising from coordination (Snidal, 1985). As recalled by Radaelli (1998), in the prisoner's dilemma, the time factor, provides incentives to cooperation, but in the battle of the sexes time may induce players "to upset prevailing coordinated outcomes in an attempt to institute a movement to other conventions which are more favourable to them" (Snidal, 1985: 936). Leadership also matters in this case. It does so, by providing adaptability when circumstances change and by promoting change in otherwise static regimes (Snidal, 1985: 939). In this sense, the action of the European Commission features these characteristics.

Assurance game

Taking into account the actual limits of the prisoners' dilemma in exemplifying interactions where mechanisms of coordination are prevailing, modes of coordination can be generally represented – we maintain – by the well-known *Assurance game*²⁷, where players have a clear common interest in coordinating on common efficient options, hence providing both of them with their best possible payoffs (s.A-S.A). As such, the game features the character of games of pure coordination; we need nonetheless to account for the risk factor involved. If, for instance, one of the two parties chooses to defect, then the other part that has decided to "cooperate" will end up with the worst possible outcome (s.A/S.B). In this connection, if the player that has decided to cooperate is unable to trust others' understanding of the common situation, he would be logically led to defect in order

²⁷"Assurance game" is a generic name for the game more commonly known as "Stag Hunt". The French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, presented the following situation. Two hunters can either jointly hunt a stag (an adult deer and rather large meal) or individually hunt a rabbit (tasty, but substantially less filling). Hunting stags is quite challenging and requires mutual cooperation. If either hunts a stag alone, the chance of success is minimal. Hunting stags is most beneficial for society but requires a lot of trust among its members.

to avoid the worst-case outcome of a cooperate/defect situation.

If also the other player in our example should be persuaded by the same initial uncertainty, then both would end up with an overall second-worst outcome solution (s.B/S.A). There are two pure strategy equilibriums²⁸: s.A/S.A and s.B/S.B.

| S.A | S. A | S. B |
|----------------|------|------|
| s. A | 4 | 3 |
| s. B | 0 | 3 |

Both players prefer one equilibrium to the other (A/A) – which is both Pareto optimal and Hicks optimal. However, the inefficient equilibrium is less risky than the payoff variance over the other player's strategies is lower. Specifically, one equilibrium is payoff-dominant while the other is risk-dominant²⁹. The game owes its name – *assurance* – to the fact that, when played out in the normal form, each player needs to assure the others that he is going to play the most risky strategy, so the other can act accordingly. Additionally, we argue, in real interaction, this type of game is more likely to be played in situations of *incomplete information*. Agents, in this eventuality, do not know the payoffs of the other players and the game; nonetheless, the game can be transformed – formally at least – into complete but *imperfect information* by simply including a fictional player (nature) in the game that moves first³⁰, thus drawing the utility functions of the agents from a probability distribution (known by players), thus conditioning payoffs on nature's (unknown) moves.

Thus, for the purposes of our analysis, the game in its most simple form reminds us of the great importance of actors' perceptions and mutual predictability in social interactions, as well as of the value of argumentation between the actors involved (Majone, 1994). It also

²⁸ A "pure strategy" is one that selects (in a given circumstance) a certain "move" or behaviour with certainty. This approach is contrasted with a "mixed strategy," which involves (in a given circumstance) selecting between at least two moves with some probabilities that sum to one. Accordingly, in a pure strategy equilibrium, "each player adopts a particular strategy with certainty," whereas in a mixed strategy equilibrium "one or more of the players adopts a strategy that randomizes among a number of pure strategies". See McCarty and Meirowitz (2007) on this point.

²⁹ Pareto optimality is a measure of efficiency. An outcome of a game is Pareto optimal if there is no other outcome that makes every player at least as well off and at least one player strictly better off. That is, a Pareto Optimal outcome cannot be improved without hurting at least one player. Often, a Nash Equilibrium is not Pareto Optimal implying that the players' payoffs can all be increased. Hicks optimality is also a measure of efficiency. An outcome of a game is Hicks optimal if there is no other outcome that results in greater total payoffs for the players. Thus, a Hick optimal outcome is always the point at which total payoffs across all players is maximized. A Hicks optimal outcome is always Pareto optimal.

³⁰ Harsanyi has first introduced this standard practice in 1968. For a formal definition of games of incomplete information and their modelling, see McCarty and Meirowitz (2007, ch.6).

points out the role that “external actors”, such as the EU – European Commission – can exercise towards enhancing reciprocal assurance between the agents and their role in limiting the preference set.

Bargaining games

Where the policy action of the EU mainly consists in re-distributive measures, interaction can be paired – at least initially – to game models of bargaining in non-cooperative situations; the original model proposed by Rubinstein (1982)³¹ well exemplifies this set of games, where the players involved interact in reiterated ways (Roth and Malouf, 1979). Thus for instance in the negotiation of structural funds, local representatives are often involved in the phase of domestic consultation, and only in “second facie” at the supranational level when dynamics of *grand bargaining* can be considered completed (Pollack, 1997; Sandholtz, 1992).

Another way to conceive interaction within distributive arenas is to think of a series of nested games (Tsebelis, 1990) taking place within different governance arenas, where actors’ suboptimal strategy in one game can be part of a strategy to maximise payoffs when all arenas are taken into account. This in turn may imply the shifting of arenas, thus moving to a different set of decisions and orders (Héritier and Lehmkuhl, 2008) or instead strategies for the creation of sub systemic arenas where partial positive-sum games may be reached within an overall situation of disagreement (Radaelli and Kraemer, 2008). Cities-EU interactions may also conform to mechanisms of “two-level games” (Buchs, 2008; Putnam, 1988).

Thus, this type of interactive situations may be thought as belonging to the family of *extensive form games*, where players choose their strategies sequentially and the time-factor holds an important role. More specifically in this case, since we are dealing with policies implying net distribution of funds from the EU to cities, it seems more likely that the model

³¹ Rubinstein draws his model from the simple situation of two individuals with several possible agreements but with different interests as to how an agreement is made.

to be employed is the one proposed by Romer and Rosenthal (Romer and Rosenthal, 1978; 1979) for resource allocation³². Without getting into the analytical framework of the model, what is relevant in this case is the majority rule governing the decision process over collective expenditure determination and above all the presence of an agenda setter – the European Commission in this case – that “has the power to make a proposal to the voters, and thereby set the agenda... and can confront the voters with a ‘take it or leave it’ choice” (Romer and Rosenthal, 1978: 27).

As suggested by Scharpf, the possibility for strategic interaction to occur depends on the deployment of one or the other of two mechanisms – *decoupling* and *aggregation* – to be used by both actors and the analyst for simplification purposes (Scharpf, 1991)³³. Whether *decoupling* would imply treating many of the interdependencies object of the strategic interaction as part of a given environment “for the purpose of a particular policy interaction”, the alternative mechanism, *aggregation*, entails aggregating and composing otherwise overly-complex actors' constellations (cities in the case of this research). Thus, the analyst, at least initially, deals with only few “corporate actors”, to eventually expand the number of actors considered inasmuch as the analysis advances. In this way, representation of oversimplified – two by two – games (as in our case) may not involve any loss of accuracy or information.

Thus, the Modes of Europeanization we present in the following section can be theoretically paired with different *mixed-motive game* situations (or variable-sum games) “in which the preferences of players are partly harmonious and partly in conflict” (Scharpf,

³² The example offered by Romer and Rosenthal in their original model formulation builds on a situation common in many local jurisdictions, where some collective expenditure is determined through the interaction between citizen-voters and a committee or a bureau charged with the provision of public services that typically formulates a proposal for the coming period's expenditures. In turn, the proposal is subject to approval or defeat in a referendum of the jurisdictions' residents.

³³ In particular, Scharpf specifies the conditions that allow for the construction of unitary players when the factual reality indeed presents one of many forms of plural actors. Thus, aggregation can be applied to “corporate actors” relying on institutional arrangements that permit collectively binding decisions, to “collective actors” depending on tacit self-coordination and also to uncoordinated “aggregate actors”.

1997: 73)³⁴. Despite presenting two-by-two games, it is common sense to recognise that most of real-life situations and consequently what we encounter in empirical research often conform to multiple-actors interactions, with a potentially large repertoire of action as well as different outcomes to be expected (Scharpf, 1990, 1997).

To conclude, “game theoretic models provide the initial conceptual framework, but they must be supplemented by forms of analysis more sensitive to the contextual aspects of the policy process” (Radaelli, 1998: 2). The process-tracing of the issue under analysis may reveal, in fact, alternative or additional dynamics that contribute to improve our understanding of the games that real actors play.

3.5 The approach: policy modes and mechanisms of Europeanization

Building on the previous discussion, in this section we devise a series of potential mechanisms for the Europeanization of urban areas as associated to different modes – domains – of policy, through which the “encounter between cities and the EU” is supposed to occur. This is an exercise based on simple deduction and classification, but useful to explore causality³⁵. To understand how causality works, we have to consider potential causal mechanisms of change and mechanisms of transmission.

To overcome the limitations of current literature, instead of looking at legal/formal definitions of urban policy, we proceeded from a much wider scanning of the ways in which EU policy affects urban policy and politics. Specifically, we have drawn on the literature on policy types (Anderson, 1997; Gormley, 1986; Lowi, 1964, 1972; Spitzer, 1987; Van Horn, *et al.*, 2001) and the literature on mechanisms of Europeanization (Eberlein and Radaelli, 2010; Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002), as well as on the discussion on the logic of

³⁴ Scharpf distinguishes *mixed-motive games* from the simple situations of *pure conflict* (zero-sum or constant sum) games in which one side must lose what the other side gains and situations of *pure coordination*, in which all actors can maximise their own payoffs by agreeing on concerted strategies. In particular he differentiates amongst four “archetypal” constellations well known in game-theoretical studies in terms of “Assurance”, “Battle of Sexes”, “prisoner Dilemma” and “Chicken”.

³⁵ For a similar catalogue-like approach see Knill, C. and Lehmkuhl, D. (2002) “The national impact of European Union regulatory policy: Three Europeanization mechanisms”, *European Journal of Political Research* 41: 255-80.

choice and the logic of appropriateness (March and Olsen, 1998). Table 3.1 illustrates this framework

Table 3.1 Potential Mechanisms of Europeanization of cities and urban areas

| | POTENTIAL MECHANISMS of CHANGE | POTENTIAL MECHANISMS of TRANSMISSION |
|---|---|---|
| <i>Mechanisms of Ideation</i> | <i>Cheap Talk and Signalling</i> → <i>Deliberation and Framing</i> → <i>Proceduralisation</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Communication; - Benchmarking; - Policy learning/transfer; - Networking - Promotion of new paradigms and tools of governance; |
| <i>Mechanisms of Regulation</i> | <i>Pareto efficiency</i> → <i>Regulation</i> → <i>Collibration</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regulatory competition; - Regulatory compliance; |
| <i>Mechanisms of Coordination</i> | <i>Coordination</i> → <i>Cooperation</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Self-regulation; - Cooperative Learning; - Targets Compliance (Standardisation); |
| <i>Mechanisms of Distribution</i> | <i>Strategic Bargaining</i> → <i>Negotiation</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Institutional framing; - Programming; - Targets compliance; - Territorial rescaling; |

Nonetheless, researchers willing to explore the dynamics of Europeanization, that is, how the EU affects or does not affect the local systems of policy and politics, need more than a catalogue based on abstract causal mechanisms.

Thus, we develop, in turn, the argument that there are four different modes of Europeanization. As a consequence, to grasp the essence of a single instrument or a given EU initiative, one has to establish which mode is prevailing in the policy logic of that instrument or initiative. We will define the modes in a moment. It is therefore useful to elicit from the previous discussions the core variables that explain change. The previous sections seem to suggest that the two core variables concern the status of actors' preferences and the nature of strategic interaction. The variables we tease out of the discussion in literature can be outlined as follows.

The first (a) – *logic of preferences* – concerns the initial arrangements of preferences. Preferences can be endogenous – and thus subject to change due to processes of learning and framing beliefs in situations where actors behaviours are mainly guided by a logic of appropriateness –, or exogenous – therefore leaving actors with a restricted space of manoeuvre within dynamics of bargaining dictated by a logic of choice.

According to the latter logic – *expected consequences* – actors are likely to choose among alternatives by accounting for the possible consequences that these choices are likely to have on individual or a collective set of objectives. In turn, decisions are usually the outcome of processes of negotiation in situations characterised by rational actors pursuing personal preferences and possible gains from coordinated action. Situations where actors are mainly guided by a logic of appropriateness are instead characterised by rules that associate specific identities to certain situational patterns; in this case the attainment of prefigured goals may be seen as identity-based and less dependent on interests, yet again, more guided by the selection of certain rules of conduct by individual rational expectations (March and Olsen, 1998).

The implications of these two logics rest on different ontological and epistemological assumptions and on diverse theoretical explanations underpinning different techniques for conflict management – respectively *aggregation* and *transformation*. Our analysis will privilege considering the logic of choice, without disregarding the fact that both ‘appropriateness’ and ‘consequence’ may be at work. Nonetheless, analytical priority will be therefore given to assess the scope conditions and the modalities characterising the logic of actor’s behaviours within different policy domains.

The other dimension (b) – *nature of strategic interaction* – deals with the distribution of payoffs from Europeanization, meaning the relative or absolute advantages that actors and institutions may draw from their involvement in the EU-steered policy game. In turn, this dimension can be displayed on a continuum where one pole is represented by zero-sum

games – where either the values at stake are mainly social values therefore hardly negotiable, or the process of interaction is likely to generate winners and losers from Europeanization (Thatcher, 2004). The other pole is positioned within the Pareto frontier. In this case the overall goal is not to defend a specific initial position, but to reach Pareto optimality, thus protecting efficiency.

The combination of (a) and (b) thus originates a four dimensional space. We can therefore develop a typology for the modes of Europeanization, which chimes with current theorisation on the EU modes of governance (Borras and Jacobsson, 2004; Eberlein and Kerwer, 2004; H  ritier and Rhodes, 2011; Treib, *et al.* 2005).

Table 3.2 The space of Modes of Europeanization

| | | DISTRIBUTION OF PAYOFFS FROM EUROPEANIZATION | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| | | ZERO SUM GAMES Winners and Losers from Europeanization | PARETO OPTIMALITY Europeanization on the Pareto frontier |
| LOGIC OF PREFERENCES | ENDOGENOUS Preferences can change | <i>Social Values</i> | <i>Efficiency</i> |
| | | (1) IDEATION | (2) REGULATION |
| | <i>Appropriateness</i> | | |
| | EXOGENOUS Preferences are given | (4) DISTRIBUTION | (3) COORDINATION |
| | <i>Choice</i> | | |

The four modes as presented in the typology partly overlap with types of policy well known in literature. In particular, modes of regulation are similar to Lowi's *regulatory arenas* (Lowi, 1964; 1972) and may reveal some of the defining properties that feature in the sub-types of regulatory policies suggested by Gormley in terms of "hearing room", "operating room", "street level" and "board room" politics (Gormley, 1986; Van Horn, *et al.*, 2001).

Thick-learning and framing can be identified as interactive attributes of ideation, which is to consider as a distinctive mode only for typological and analytical purposes. Ideational components, in fact, are characteristic of different domains of policy as well as diverse

phases of the policy process. Thus, for instance, regulative arenas are grounded in rulemaking practices: their logic of change is based on Pareto-efficiency and market-preserving mechanisms. In part, this overlaps with ideational mechanisms since Pareto-efficiency is one of the legitimising discourses of the EU (Majone, 1992).

Modes of Ideation

Cell 1 better describes situations characterised by endogenous distribution of preferences and a tendency for interactions to lead to zero-sum games. Dynamics characterising ideational domains carry the strongest potential to transform zero-sum games and situations of stalemate within the decision making over specific policy issues into possible cooperative arrangements (Lenoble and Maesshalck, 2006).

Dynamics of interaction characterising *ideation domains* of policy find their foundation in an ontology and models predicting the possibility of change within preference sets due to different processes of discursive interaction between individual and institutional actors (Ruggie, 1998), stressing the importance of language, ideas and inter-subjectivity (Christiansen, *et al.*, 1999) and the political role of legitimising discourses (Schmidt, 2008; Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004).

A key mechanism through which conflicting preferences transform is *deliberation* (Elster, 1998). Deliberative approaches identify the importance of “argumentative interaction for the coherence of a polity, its social acceptance and its normative acceptability” (Neyer, 2006: 779). According to the proponents of “deliberative supranationalism” for instance, exchange of arguments in an evidence-based, issue-specific context, would lead actors to realise the potential externalities of their preferences for others, thus modifying these preferences accordingly (Joerges and Neyer, 1997; Neyer, 2006). In this case the EU assumes the character of a framework facilitating the “public use of reason” (Gerstenberg, 1997: 351), where for deliberation to be effective two main

conditions must apply: deliberation has to be an open process taking place in public spheres where actual participation has to be guaranteed (Neyer, 2006).

Another set of mechanisms suggests transformation of preferences following iterative and problem-driven dynamics, thus shifting the locus of change from the socialisation of individual actors to alterations through *proceduralization* (Eberlein and Radaelli, 2010). One of these mechanisms is *framing*, defined as “the process of selecting, emphasising and organising aspects of complex issues according to an overriding evaluative or analytical criterion” (Daviter, 2007; Schon and Rein, 1994). In their study on conflict management strategies within regulatory policy areas, Radaelli and Eberlein propose proceduralization as a further mechanism through which actors may interrelate thus changing their preferences within the ideational policy arena. In this case, actors find it easier to agree on the process through which outcomes will be defined and on the instrument that will be used to define desirable goals instead of directly agreeing on the policy targets to be achieved (Eberlein and Radaelli, 2010).

The transmission of ideational/discursive policy programmes and instruments is likely to take place within cross-sectional “fora” for discussion through mechanisms relying on patterns of *communication, benchmarking, policy learning* as well as on the promotion of *new policy paradigms* and *new tools of governance* agreed within the EU policy arena. The tools are afterwards eventually experimented in the localities, which progressively become targets of renewed legitimisation for the policy action of the EU and loci to experiment innovative and “more participative” modalities for the management of policy programmes and initiatives.

Regulatory Modes

Cell 2, on the other hand, captures situations of non-fixed preferences where the overall objective of interaction around policies is to attain procedural efficiency. Therefore, regulation as a mode of governance typifies this domain.

Domains where *regulation* is the characteristic mode of interaction have a rank of values at stake that is not disputed and eventually composed by actors. Although the set of preferences within this domain can be initially considered as variably both endogenous – thus subject to change through technocratic argumentation – and exogenous –where instead actors eventually realise the advantages that may stem from coordinating their reciprocal positions – here, the defining logic of policy action is its tension towards preserving *efficiency* over equity. Two main sets of procedural mechanisms can be maintained herewith in operation, which is *regulation* and *efficiency* (Majone, 1994). Legitimacy is sought through administrative procedures (Majone, 1996).

In the case of regulatory policies, the role played by the EU can be thought as one version of *collibration*, defined as “an intervention by government to use the social energy created by the tension between two or more social groupings habitually locked in opposition to one another to achieve a policy objective by altering the conditions of engagement without destroying the tension – unless deliberately (Dunsire, 1993: 12).

Regulatory arenas respond to various theories of rational policy analysis. Also in the context of the EU, the growing demand for accountability has led to the diffusion of analytic and quantitative techniques to assist in resources allocation and the policy making process (Carley, 1980). Different techniques for cost-benefit analysis, environmental impact assessment, social impact assessment, the use of social indicators and various types of methods for evaluation are particularly relevant in the case of regulatory policies in the EU.

The functioning of regulatory arenas is often identified with Pareto-efficiency. Regulatory regimes attempt to reach policy efficiency through differentiated positioning of actors within the Pareto frontier, as showed by several explanations of international policy coordination (Krasner, 1991). In this case mechanisms of transmission cover *regulatory competition* and *regulatory compliance*. Competition is more likely to apply when the regulatory action of the EU limits the range of alternative policy solutions available at the local level (e.g. via negative integration). Regulatory compliance is more likely to characterise those

actions promoting more stringent regulatory clauses thereby aiming at replacing existing arrangements with new sets of regulatory institutions agreed within the EU policy arena.

EU action in urban areas within regulatory domains mainly proceeds through the mediation of national policy channels, which is through general provisions to be domestically applied at the level of each Member State of the EU. For this reason, the distinction between regulatory competition and compliance is not always possible and the two mechanisms are instead more likely to deploy in entangled ways.

Modes of Coordination

Cell 3 – *coordination* – portrays arenas characterised by the fixed distribution of preferences, where nonetheless, there are gains from cooperation to be exploited. Coordination as a specific mode of interaction has been partly overlooked. Its nature remains rather under-theorised. Despite presenting similar features to “regulation” as a mode of interactions, for our purposes – at least in the phase of theoretical elaboration – *coordination* can be maintained as a specific and theoretically grounded mode of policy. In the case of *coordination* the set of preferences available to actors is exogenous and, as in the case of regulation, the rank of values at stake is not disputed and eventually composed by actors.

Two prevailing sets of mechanisms are herewith in operation in terms of action *coordination* and *cooperation*. Examples in this sense are represented by the promotion and affirmation of various EU measures aimed at promoting *better regulation*. In this case, the instruments in which the better regulation agenda is grounded are “soft” in character and there are advantages from the partial coordination of reciprocal actions and the exchange of ideas over policy alternatives. Preferences are not necessarily subject to change and change is conditional upon advantages gained from the process of learning through cooperation; this, in turn, may lead to reforms to be undertaken domestically.

The transmission of programmes and instruments that conform to modes of coordination entails various mechanisms of *self-regulation*, *cooperative learning* and *target*

compliance (standardisation) within domains where the European legislator eventually set target rules, without instead acting through “command and control” modalities foreseeing compliance to strict procedures or the common adoption of specific policy provisions. As showed by several studies of international regimes and standardization, the specificities of coordination as a mode of interaction can be better understood by endorsing the tenets of game-theoretic models (Scharpf, 1997; Snidal, 1985).

In particular, dynamics of coordination entail that “no centralised enforcement is necessary, because neither the state has incentive to depart from an established convention” (Snidal, 1985: 932); furthermore, central authorities in situations of coordination problems are “less concerned with enforcement than with codification and elaboration of an existing or latent convention and with providing information and communication” (Snidal, 1985: 932).

Modes of Distribution

Cell 4 features situations where preferences are fixed and interaction is modelled by zero sum games. Extended processes of bargaining are the only way forward in terms of composing preferences, often via conflict management through side payments or by using a kind of “veil of ambiguity” to settle on long-term solutions that are amenable to short-term bargaining (Eberlein and Radaelli, 2010).

The theoretical foundation of *distributive arenas* is the rational choice paradigm of fixed and conflicting preferences that need to be aggregated – or transformed – within different issues and over time. Preferences aggregation can be systematised through the two variants of *issue based aggregation* – which constitute the traditional focus of negotiation processes – and *arena-based aggregation*, where instead interaction deploys through sophisticated ways for the compensation and negotiation of interests and in which conflict is generally addressed via the institutional adjustment of arenas (Eberlein and Radaelli, 2009).

In this connection, interaction over policy issues can take the general form of *bargaining* and *negotiation* (Keohane, 1984: 12). When related to the dynamic of construction of the European polity, cooperation arrangements are locked in institutional choice as explained by intergovernmental accounts of European integration (Moravcsik, 1993; 1998). An illustration is the negotiation of structural funds, where local representatives are often involved in the phase of domestic consultation, and only in ‘second instance’ at the supranational level when dynamics of *grand bargaining* can be considered completed (Pollack 1997; Sandholtz, 1992). Another way to conceive interaction within distributive arenas is to think of as a series of nested games (Tsebelis, 1990) taking place within different arenas of governance, where actors’ suboptimal strategy in one game can be part of a strategy to maximise payoffs when all arenas are taken into account. This, in turn, may imply the shifting of arenas, thus moving to a different decisional and actor set (Héritier and Lehmkuhl, 2008), instead of strategies for the creation of sub systemic arenas where partial positive-sum games may be reached within an overall situation of disagreement (Radaelli and Kraemer, 2008). Cities-EU interactions may conform to mechanisms of “two-level games” (Buchs, 2008; Putnam, 1988). Drawing on Buchs, we can hypothesise that cities attempt to influence the EU agenda on urban-sensitive issues to obtain additional *justification* for previously planned but unpopular – or financially unfeasible – reforms at home (Buchs, 2008).

Cities can alternatively seek to *upload*, through bargaining, domestic policy approaches so as to reduce costs when implementing EU-led policy programmes; finally *ignorance* applies to situations where the policy issue at stake does not contain legally binding provisions and agreements at the EU level will not have negative repercussions within domestic systems of policy-making.

A second set of mechanisms is associated with all those policy initiatives aiming to support the endorsement of specific models for economic and social development, territorial integration as well as the alignment to certain institutional arrangements for the

management and implementation of programmes, whose tenets are agreed upon at the EU level. This is mainly the case for those areas of policy having a distributive nature, where EU Structural action aims to promote regional and local development and territorial economic harmonisation through specific funds providing financial assistance for cross-sectoral initiatives.

Therefore, different mechanisms of transmission can be identified in terms of *institutional framing*, *programming* (it is especially the case for the Structural Policy of the EU), *targets compliance* and *territorial rescaling* (cities-regions; cities-central State, cities-urban areas). These, in turn, underpin dynamics of institutional rescaling within urban systems and processes leading to the “institutionalisation of weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) following the application of new modalities and arrangements for the management of policies.

This characterization of modes of Europeanization has the merit of reducing theoretical fragmentation. It also sheds light on similarities between Europeanization and wider characterisations of modes of governance. Indeed, an advantage of table 3.2 is that each of the cells of the typology can be associated with modes of interaction well known to the literature on governance and policy coordination. A second advantage consists of the fact that policy instruments can be observed dynamically.

3.5 Modes of Europeanization and policy instruments

Not only do policy domains characterise for different procedural dynamics of interaction between actors and mechanisms for the transmission of EU-related policies in the localities, but they can also be distinguished on the basis of sets of policy instruments to be associated to single areas of policy within each domain.

Our argument on this occasion is that different sets of policy instruments contribute to determine the character of different policy domains through which the process of Europeanization of urban politics is expected to have effects. In turn, EU policy instruments can be sorted out according to ideational-reflexive, bargaining-distributive,

regulatory, and coordination modes. Policy instruments can be observed dynamically; depending on how they are implemented at the local level, they can move from one cell to another thus, revealing alternative modes of interaction as well as the mechanisms for their transmission.

To sum up then, this analysis suggests some different mechanisms at work, and enables us to situate existing EU policy programmes and instruments which are likely to have an impact effect on urban systems of governance in a coherent framework. In a second phase, EU policy instrumentation substantiated in specific programmes, initiatives and regulations – as potential catalysts for Europeanization of politics within cities and urban areas – can be compared throughout their development on the basis of the theoretically grounded typology for the modes of Europeanization. Having outlined four distinct *Modes of Europeanization* allows for the dynamic analysis of policy instruments associated with specific policy initiatives or programmes within each of the cells. Instruments and policy programmes, although initially coupled with one domain or another, are expected to move across cells.

This builds on the assumption that EU policy instruments, differently substantiated into policy programmes and regulations can be initially conceived as mainly ideational, regulatory, of coordination or distributive, and organised accordingly. When, however, we use the classification to select a specific policy programme for empirical research, the dynamic analysis of the process of Europeanization may well show that instruments reveal different modes of interaction and therefore change “cell” in the typology.

Examples of cell 1 in our typology are the series of ‘fora’ for discussion and exchange of policy ideas, such as URBACT II³⁶ support programme, the CIVITAS³⁷ Forum in the field of transport or by the CONCERTO³⁸ initiative for the exchange of ideas in the field

³⁶ <http://www.urbact.eu>

³⁷ <http://www.civitas-initiative.org>

³⁸ <http://www.concertoplus.eu>

of energy efficiency, yet the Covenant of Mayors³⁹ aimed at promoting sustainable energy at the local level. These instruments can be considered as preponderantly ideational, thus conforming to logics of learning and reflexivity. However they have the potential to trigger alternative logics – bargaining and regulation – especially if they are endowed with financial provisions and/or eventually rules of implementation. Further, inherently regulative instruments typical of cell 2, such as the EU rules on public procurement and services of general interest⁴⁰, the water framework directive⁴¹, the waste framework directive⁴² and the directive on ambient air quality and cleaner air⁴³ are often evolving in their ideational elements, which may eventually substantiate into forum for discussion and learning between actors involved in implementation (and therefore may move to cell 1 – learning and reflexivity). Yet another example are instruments with a distributive nature – mostly substantiated in structural programmes – which despite reflecting modes of interaction in line with cell 3, are sometimes transforming into modes of learning and reflexivity typical of cell 1. The Community Initiative URBAN II during the 2000-2006 period, the LIFE + Programme for the environment and the various financial instruments part of the Cohesion policy (ERDF and Cohesion Fund) exemplify these types of instruments. As shown by Eberlein and Radaelli (2010) the walls separating choice and appropriateness are rather porous.

³⁹ <http://www.eumayors.eu>

⁴⁰ Directive 2004/17/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 coordinating the procurement procedures of entities operating in the water, energy, transport and postal services sectors, OJL 134/1 of 30.4.2004.

⁴¹ European Parliament and Council Directive 2000/60/EC, OJ L 327/1 of 22.12.2000.

⁴² Directive 2006/12/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 April 2006 on waste

⁴³ Directive 2008/50/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 May 2008 on ambient air quality and cleaner air for Europe.

RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODS AND CASE SELECTION

4.1 Introduction and *research questions*

This analysis aims to assess the nature of the relations between European urban systems and the European Union within the EU-wide arenas of policy-making. The research – grounded in theoretical policy analysis – takes Europeanization as the main approach for investigation. Therefore, the overall intention is to explore the modes of interaction and the causal mechanisms that structure the “encounter” (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2006) between the EU and urban systems of governance.

The core insight at the basis of the analysis is that, despite the limited (and not legally provisioned) competences of the EU legislator to intervene in urban areas, the “encounter” between the EU policy making and urban systems can take place through different channels and in the contexts of multiple policy domains. Therefore, we recognise the possibility for EU action to influence urban systems – and in particular their policy-making structures – also in the context of policy domains that are not directly consecrated by the EU legislator to cities and urban areas.

Throughout the research, the main purpose is to qualify *how* urban systems of governance interact within the EU policy making in relation to the various components of the policy sectors considered to carry out the analysis. Specifically, interactions will be analysed in accordance with the typology for Modes of Europeanization (table 3.2) and with reference to different *policy instruments*.

This analysis wants to single out the causal mechanisms structuring the encounter between cities and the EU. Whether specific mechanisms of Europeanization are detected,

the aim is to assess the character assumed by Europeanization and to highlight the scope conditions for the Europeanization of different arenas of politics at the urban level.

Therefore, the research questions guiding the analysis are the following:

- *How does the European Union influence urban politics and policies? Therefore, what are the modalities through which the encounter between cities and the European Union can be structured?*
- *In the case influence can be detected, what are the mechanisms that structure the interaction between actors and the process of Europeanization, thus eventually triggering change within urban systems of governance?*
- *Do policy instruments and programmes perform according to specific modes of interaction, or do they trigger unforeseen contingencies instead?*
- *Yet again, does the nature of strategic interaction determine the character of the Europeanization of urban systems of governance?*

This research has an *explorative* nature. The paucity of empirical evidence and theoretical accounts in the research area of this study suggests to opt for a research strategy centred on the exploration of few case studies and aimed more at describing and understanding social *interaction* and possible *transformations*, than to explain and test causal hypotheses, which lean on uncertain foundations (Nørgaard, 2008). In turn, causal explanations also require a certain degree of interpretation and description; especially those causal explanations concerning intentional and strategic actions. As claimed by Weber: “*we must understand human behaviour and the subjective meaning actors ascribe to it in order to proceed and account for the causes of a specific type of behaviour, its course and effects*” (Weber, 1993: 29-36).

The relevance of the “time factor”

The study of Europeanization is mainly concerned with the process following the response of domestic systems – cities in our case – to pressures originating within the EU policy-

making and the *usage* domestic actors make of Europe (Radaelli, 2004). In turn, Europeanization can be detected when the logic of domestic political actors changes following a “reference-shift”, whereby elements of EU policy making become a cognitive and normative frame for actors in domestic systems (Muller, 1995; Surel, 2000).

Drawing on the tenets of implementation theory (Winter, 2003), the enactment of EU policies is accompanied by redistributive consequences, despite these are weak in the classic sense (Majone, 1996). In fact, the policies promoted by the EU also entail the allocation and reallocation of resources, thus implying the mobilization of actors and interest groups within domestic systems (Martinsen, 2007).

In this connection, public policies on the whole, can be defined according to their temporality and associated degree of change (Hoeffler, *et al.*, 2010). The relevance of the time dimension in the analysis of the public action informs studies in the neo-institutionalist tradition (Hall and Taylor, 1997; Skocpol, 1992). In fact, political institutions may channel change within specific and “path dependant” trajectories, often in opposition to agency-centred approaches, which tend to understate the importance of history and the transformation of actors’ preferences over time (Pierson, 2004). The inclusion of time-based variables may help to complement the analysis of institutional configurations with the consideration of developments situated in time sequences, so as to demonstrate the importance of *temporality* in promoting structural and institutional change (Bonoli, 2007).

Time becomes a crucial factor in the analysis of Europeanization. This is especially the case when the analysis focuses on policy areas where the intervention of the European legislator does not comply with direct patterns of implementation and it is consistent over time. The Europeanization of a policy area is not a “one off”; it deploys over time through multiple interactions between domestic systems and the EU.

4.2 Research Hypotheses

The analysis of change and transformation at the domestic level is a traditional focus of Europeanization studies. Quite different is the issue of attributing – rather to positively correlate – change to the action of the EU (Radaelli, 2004). The intrinsic risk is to prejudge the influential impact of Europeanization, where other variables may have a more pronounced determining character. As a result, globalisation (Fligstein and Merand, 2001) and domestic factors, often disguised under the label of Europeanization, may turn out to be the actual lever triggering transformation within domestic systems (Levi-Faur, 2004; Stolfi, 2008)⁴⁴.

When the main goal of the analysis is to investigate the potential impact of Europe on certain policy areas, possible alternative explanations have to be considered, or at least recognized as plausible.

These alternatives can be grouped in two broad categories under the labels of *international* and *domestic*. In the first case, change (or more generally influence) is due to international factors and dynamics linked to the action of international organization (other than the EU) or to the activity of trans-national networks of experts. On the other hand, instead, pressure originates from “inside”, that is from the domestic process of reform or regulation. As a consequence, even when accounting for the possible influence of the EU on cities, alternative hypotheses concerning the source of change have to be admitted. In this case, the “domestic hypothesis” is especially likely to play a role (Stolfi, 2008).

In this connection, cities are subject to the “administrative control” of both the national administration and of other sub-national administrative authorities, depending on the territorial organization of competencies in the different Member States of the EU.

Besides that, urban policy has followed different paths of development according to diverse national traditions, within a domain – urban politics – where the EU does not have

⁴⁴ By taking into consideration cases outside the European Union, Levi-Faur shows how the net-impact of Europeanization – thus the role played by the European Union – in the process of liberalisation of the telecoms and electricity industries is lower than the impact of both international and domestic factors. Similarly, Stolfi illustrates how domestic factors, unlike the pressures associated to the European monetary integration, have played a more decisive role in the dynamic of reform of the Italian budget institutions during the 1990s.

a formal competence for intervention. When the main purpose is to investigate the influence of EU policies on cities, domestic factors need to feature into the analysis, since a large part of the EU legislation has to be translated into national systems of law before eventually reaching sub-national authorities.

Therefore, rival alternative hypotheses about change within the policy-making of cities can be formulated as follows:

1. Europeanization

Patterns of transformation/ change within the policy structures at the urban level depend on pressures at the European level and on the policy action of the EU.

Eventual transformation within structures of policy and politics within urban systems would be related to the impact of EU-initiated policies, both through initiatives explicitly addressed to cities and via policy provisions and regulations that are nationally addressed, but locally implemented within urban systems.

2. International

Patterns of transformation/ change within the policy making of European urban systems depend on international dynamics of policy diffusion, or on the action of specific international bodies.

In this case, the eventual transformations within the policy-making of cities would have occurred regardless of the policy action of the EU. Instead, these would be the resultant of isomorphic diffusion via the *EU-detached transnational network of cities* or via the action of *international organisations* with a competence in urban matters (i.e. OECD).

3. Domestic

Change within policy structures at the urban level is the result of domestic processes of political control, instead of administrative reforms.

Domestic factors are at the basis of change. These can be reforms initiated by the central government, the action of specific groups or individuals at the local level, or resultant of the

interplay between cities and other levels of administration (i.e. regions, central State). According to this hypothesis, change is not related to the promotion of EU policies, but to domestic initiatives undertaken by national governments within the same policy areas.

Our argument builds on the assumption that different *modes* of policy are likely to structure politics and influence the structures of political action during the phases of policy formulation and implementation. This also implies a conceptualisation of public policy analysis as the activity to address the choices for the exercise and distribution of power by State authorities on the basis of positive and negative sanctions (Lowi, 1964; 1972). More specifically, we contend that different EU policy instruments, as associated to diverse causal mechanisms of change, and in turn paired with distinct modes of policy interaction, determine the nature of the process of the Europeanization of urban systems.

Therefore, granted that:

1. *Change at the domestic level may be triggered by EU or other factors; and*
2. *Europeanization is to be conceived as a PROCESS, and not as a final outcome;*

This research focuses on the “Europeanization hypothesis” (without nonetheless dismissing the potential relevance of the rival alternatives) in relation to the promotion of EU policy instruments, programmes and tools assumed as proxies for the evaluation of the modes through which cities encounter the EU.

In particular we contend that:

*The Europeanization of urban systems depends on the nature of strategic interaction,
not on the legal ‘tools’ explicitly designated for cities.*

According to this hypothesis, the policy action of the EU allows potential transformations to be triggered within the policy making of urban systems of governance also in the context of policy areas not targeting cities in explicit ways. We contend that interactions between

cities and the EU (and in turn the transformative effects that this interaction can bring about within urban systems) can be better interpreted by considering the policy arenas within which actors and institutions relate interchangeably in order to attain specific policy goals. In particular, this hypothesis calls to consider the *nature, use and development* of EU policy instruments that substantiate in different policy programmes and initiatives.

As drawn from the analysis of the literature on Europeanization and public policy, the nature of strategic interaction can be theoretically conceptualised as the resultant of the interplay between two variables:

- LOGIC OF PREFERENCES (Exogenous – Endogenous);
- GAINS FROM EUROPEANIZATION (Zero-sum games – Pareto Optimality);

Therefore, the process of Europeanization may conform to one of the four modes represented in the typology:

- *IDEATION*: Ideational dynamics carry the potential to transform zero-sum games and situations of stalemate within the decision making over specific policy issues into possible cooperative arrangements;
- *REGULATION*: Governing regulation regimes in situations of fixed preferences in an attempt to reach procedural efficiency;
- *COORDINATION*: realising the advantages from interactions between actors having highly differentiated preferences, thus exploiting the gains from cooperation.
- *DISTRIBUTION*: bargaining processes in situations of fixed preferences and zero-sum games aim to conflict composition and conflict management, through side payments and by preserving situations with a “veil of ambiguity”;

Considering the overall hypothesis as previously formulated and the typology accounting for the nature of strategic interaction, four hypotheses about the character of Europeanization of cities can be formulated:

Hp 1: *if preferences are ENDOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is ZERO-SUM (type 1) then the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via IDEATION;*

Hp 2: *if preferences are ENDOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is PARETO OPTIMAL (type 2), the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via REGULATION;*

Hp 3: *if preferences are EXOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is PARETO OPTIMAL (type 3), the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via COORDINATION;*

Hp 4: *if preferences are EXOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction leads to ZERO-SUM games (type 4), the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via DISTRIBUTION;*

4.3 Methodology and research design

An important methodological issue concerns causality. This calls into question the importance of *research design* when attempting to assess the impacts of the EU upon domestic systems. Baseline-type of enquiry relying on “top-down” accounts run the risk – we argue – of reducing Europeanization solely to the analysis of the impact of EU decisions on the domestic institutional system, thus drawing the parallel “European action/direct effects”, by considering the domestic effects of independent variables defined at the EU level.

Other approaches stress the importance of rooting Europeanization in the *context* of its eventual manifestation, and of explicitly treating the issue of causality (Radaelli, 2003). In this connection, those claiming for a *bottom-up* or *inside-out* perspective through process-tracing based on temporal causal sequences, aim to assess *whether*, *when* and eventually *how* the action of the EU policy-making has effectively brought about change within each of the components of the domestic system. By adopting such a strategy, the qualification of the EU impact is not uni-directional – meaning solely the “reaction” to the European legislator – instead an attempt is made to consider alternative modalities through which Europe is often “used” by domestic actors and institutions (Radaelli 2004).

Therefore, Europe – as a system to be “encountered” by domestic actors and institutions – can, at times, become a constraining model to which domestic systems should adapt, other times it represents a set of resources, opportunities to re-define and re-orient discourses and political action at the domestic level (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007: 37-38). EU-level variables are maintained as exogenous to the context of analysis, thus, EU policy and politics are not considered as the independent variables. In fact, to produce Europeanization effects, EU-level interactions need to become a yardstick for political action within domestic systems by means of both socialisation effects and policies that progressively alter the logic of domestic political action.

In turn, the empirical analysis starts from the set of actors, problems, rules, styles, ideas and outcomes at the domestic level at a given time – T0 – to then *process-trace* the domestic system of interaction over a certain lag of time. The research attempts to identify those critical junctures or turning points that cause major changes to take place under the form of ideational transformations, alterations of the structure of actors, yet as the re-definition of problems (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007).

Following that, each juncture has to be causally assessed in order to establish the causal nature of change, in particular to assess whether the transformation was domestic in nature or exogenously triggered instead, thus caused by variables such as the EU or global processes. To make inference from the contribution of exogenous variables, the research needs to proceed *backwards-up* from the domestic to the EU level, to control patterns and establish the nature of causal influence on domestic structures. EU variables have to be then further considered, so as to establish their actual importance within the domestic system. They can in fact be facilitators or bond instead, and at times they can be source of learning for domestic actors, yet factors bringing to the possible alteration of the domestic structure of opportunities. “Causality is then examined *in vivo* by looking at temporal causal sequences” (Exadaktylos and Radaelli, 2009).

Other types of research design can be opted for when carrying out research on Europeanization. Choosing amongst alternative research designs should not reflect any assumption in terms of the nature of Europeanization, which can be interpreted as a society-actors driven process or a top-down steering mechanism (Radaelli and Pasquier, 2006: 12). A distinctive EU system of interaction is a necessary condition for Europeanization to occur, and all research design perspectives acknowledge that. At the same time though, socialisation and the formulation of European policies, as well as eventual adaptational pressure stemming from the EU are not considered sufficient conditions in bottom-up design accounts, where the establishment of EU policies is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for Europeanization.

Analytic process-tracing

For the purpose of this work, the analysis via the process-tracing of single cases allows to better unravel and eventually test the mechanisms structuring the encounter between cities and the EU so as to reveal possible causal processes within the same case (George and McKeown, 1985). Additionally, the process tracing method fruitfully adapts to different theoretical frameworks (i.e. social constructivism and rational choice), by at the same time allowing to explore and explain the decisional process through which some initial conditions translate into certain outcomes later on in time (George and Bennet, 2005).

Therefore, the objective is to formulate, and eventually test “middle-range” theoretical propositions able to avoid the intrinsic pitfalls of “a-theoretical descriptive narratives”, without pretending on the other hand to lead towards the formulation of “universal law of human behaviour that hold across all time and places” (George and Bennet, 2005).

The overall purpose becomes instead to discover and observe the *causal mechanisms* connecting dependent and independent variables in each of the particular contexts considered, so as to test theories in situations characterised by complex effects of interaction and multiple causality, wherein the task of explaining outcomes in terms of a

reduced number of independent variables is rather difficult (Hall, 2003). Process-tracing analysis is a particularly suitable method for studies where the main objective is to give a certain degree of historical relevance to the formal theories beneath the analysis, thus giving importance to elements such as stories, accounts and contexts.

The tracing of processes underpinning the cases under analysis is performed via the *narrative assessment* of the selected policy instruments. Thus, narratives aim to underline processes and stories behind events, so to make processes the “fundamental building blocks of sociological analysis” (Abbott, 1992: 428). The overall meaning of a narrative resides in the intertwined function of present and past contexts, therefore in the interactions producing around a certain set of issues.

Nonetheless, analytic narratives do not reduce to deductive histories. Rational choice models rely on deductive components, but the analysis is *de facto* carried out via inductive methods that aim to highlight the role of actors, their preferences and the structure of the environment. Deductive reasoning is then used to study behaviours and actions within the context of the devised theoretical framework.

Fundamental importance is attributed to the processes and to temporal sequences of actions happening within “constraining or enabling structures”, where instead, “normal methods parse social reality into fixed entities with variable qualities. They attribute causality to the variables – hypostatized social characteristics – rather than to agents; variables do things, not social actors” (Abbott, 1992: 428).

An example – amongst others⁴⁵ – is offered by the work of Bates and his colleagues, whose *analytic narratives* combine analytical tools of economics and political science – rational choice theory and game theory – with the narrative form commonly used in history (Bates, *et al.*, 1998). By focusing on concrete historical cases, where the main interest is to explore the choices of individuals who are embedded in specific settings, their analysis proceeds by tracing the “sequence of action, decisions and responses that generate events

⁴⁵ An overview on the narrative tradition of analysis can be found in Abbott, 1992.

and outcomes”. The approach of *analytic narratives*, although informed by deductive reasoning, seeks to account for *outcomes* via the identification and exploration of the mechanisms “behind” them. This, in turn is made by considering *time* and *place* and by locating and tracing the processes that generate the outcome of interest. By isolating and unpacking such mechanisms, analytic narratives offer structural accounts paying attention to the identification of “the *actors*, the *decision points* they faced, the *choices* they made, the *paths* taken and shunned, and the manner in which their choices generated events and outcomes” (Bates *et al.*, 1998: 13-14).

Relevant for the construction of narratives informed by a rational choice approach is the consideration of structural contexts, namely the “broader structural arrangements that represent the contextual component of social action” and that are treated as dynamic targets enduring “throughout a given event sequence” (Pedriana, 2005: 356). The contextual framework then provides the theoretical link between historical processes and the social actors that guide their development.

In particular, the analysis proceeds by first modelling a portion of the critical dynamics of interest coherently with the hypotheses and ideas governing the overall research. Following that, through the narrative, a single case is used to test the hypotheses and to eventually generate new hypotheses that can be generalised. As such, the method of analytic narratives is used to develop and test theory-driven models, thereby employing “theory to gain deeper insight into the complex working of the real world” (Bates, *et al.* 2000).

Design and strategy of research

Policy instruments are initially associated with the four modes of Europeanization previously outlined. We then use techniques like *analytic processing* to verify whether instruments actually perform according to the “mode” to which they have been initially paired, or if they trigger contingencies that have not been theoretically/deductively

foreseen. Unlike “modes”, that cannot be empirically observed, instruments can be empirically assessed as they “develop” during the policy process, starting from their launch at the EU level, through their negotiation, their combination into broader policy initiatives and then their implementation, in this case in the policy making within urban systems of governance.

Therefore, four policy instruments are initially selected – as associated with the four Modes of Europeanization – and empirically assessed in order to verify whether they actually perform according to the “mode” to which they have been initially paired, or if they trigger contingencies that have not been theoretically/deductively foreseen.

The dependent variable of our investigation is a composite one representing both the structures of the encounter between urban systems and the EU and possible variations in the patterns of policy making within urban systems of governance. It can be systematised in terms of four elements referring to the structure of policy at the domestic (city) level:

- **Actors (A):** moreover relating to actors’ legitimacy;
- **Instruments (I):** moreover fiscal or monetary instruments tuned in order to attain macro-economic targets;
- **Procedures (P):** policy making procedures, including policy styles, in turn discernible into phases of agenda setting, policy program formulation, implementation, evaluation and possible extinction;
- **Policy Paradigms/Cognitive structures (Pp):** including those structures presiding public policies, policy paradigms, frames, narratives and policy discourses;

The independent variable guiding the analysis corresponds to EU policy modes instead. In particular, EU policy arenas have been deductively expanded so as to associate them with specific explanatory mechanisms for change and transmission, and in turn through a typology that sorts out four distinct modes of Europeanization.

To explore mechanisms, one may not need more than one city, since comparison is made between domains of policy, where variation is expected to occur. The analysis of each of the four modes proceeds along two steps.

During a first phase, the *top-down* analysis will focus on the key points that have produced change at the EU level and observe how the urban system(s) considered reacted to them. Contextually, a similar analysis will be conducted at the national level in the State where our city of reference is located. This recognition will allow us to assess how the evolution of the instruments considered has been responded to, both at the national and urban level. In turn, this would make it possible to highlight “critical junctures” – focal points –, which eventually characterized this lapse of time. Therefore, analytical attention will focus on the key points that have produced change at the EU level, to be then observing how the urban system considered reacted to them. At the same time, a further assessment will be conducted at the level of the national State in order to verify how the instruments have been handled within national administrations and how urban systems (cities) have been addressed.

In a second phase, a *bottom-up* technique (of the type described by Radaelli and Pasquier, 2007) is employed. The subjects of interest during this phase are the policy-making structures regarding the interaction between the EU and the urban system considered for the analysis. In particular, we ask ourselves here whether these structures have been subject to modification during the lapse of time considered, and if it is the case, through which mechanisms such evolutions took place. This step aims at establishing whether opportunities, pressures and incentives originating at the EU level (and linked to the promotion of EU policy instruments), as defined in the first step, play any actual role and conform to the expectations arising from the policy modes. Therefore, once relevant changes for the domestic *urban* systems of interaction have been identified, the analysis

traces-back to the EU (and national) level, to verify how the EU variables have exercised causal influence on the domestic structures of policy in the city considered.

Through the process-tracing method, the main intent is to identify the casual mechanisms at play between the dependent variable and the various “outcomes” of the dependent variable. This means to establish *if*, *when* and eventually *how* the process of Europeanization entails a variation within the policy structures of the interaction between Europe and the urban context considered. In turn, this would allow to assess whether and how, opportunities, pressures and incentives coming from the EU policy activity – by means of the promotion of different policy instruments – (as identified in the first step) have played a causal role in determining the character of the dependent variable.

What we mentioned above can be represented through the following formula:

$$[\text{PS (policy structures) or PE (process of Europeanization)}] \text{ CITY 1 } t=0 \longrightarrow \\ [\text{PS (policy structures) or PE (process of Europeanization)}] \text{ CITY 1 } t+n = \{\Delta\text{Au}; \Delta\text{Iu}; \Delta\text{Pu}; \Delta\text{Pau}\}$$

Nonetheless, variation is not to be expected for each of the components and for each of the policy instruments analysed with the same degree of intensity. It is rather interesting, in fact, to observe the lack, rather than the presence of logical sequences between the variables considered. Due to the dynamicity of the process of Europeanization as well as to the nature of EU policy instruments (within the policy areas taken into consideration), the analysis aims to assess when and where variations occur, the possible relation between the variables, and the role played by other dynamics or processes in this context of analysis.

4.4 Case selection and methods

The analysis wants to explore the impact of variables through a crossed comparison of four cases in the area of *environmental policy* and *sustainable development* within the overall strategy

for Integrated Environmental Management in urban areas (European Commission, 2007a). In turn, the cases are assessed with reference to the territorial systems of the Italian city of Turin.

The choice of Turin – as a “median case” in the sample of European cities – arose from considering the city performance in terms of both activism within the EU-wide policy making during the past two decades, and the relevance that environmental issues acquired within the range of policy activities promoted in the urban territory. As said, for the purpose of exploring mechanisms in typology one, we do not need more than one city, since comparison is made between domains of policy, where variation is expected to occur.

The selection of instruments in the macro area of environmental policy as units of analysis for this research, hinges upon three different reasons. On a more general level, considering the urban dimension in relation to the EU Sustainable Development Strategy contributes to make sense of the strategic role that cities play in Europe’s economic, cultural and social life as the major generator of its share and knowledge, as well as key players in delivering the objectives of the Strategy (European Commission, 2009a). Urban areas represent fundamental strategic locations to pursue the goal of promoting all dimensions of sustainability.

Several sectors of the EU policy for environment have a direct connection with the EU attempt to promote sustainable living in urban areas. Here, the publication of Commission working documents and guidelines – *Green Paper on the Urban Environment*, the Communication from the Commission *Towards an Urban Agenda in the European Union*, the EU Sustainable development Strategy, the *Sixth Environmental Action Programme* and the *Thematic Strategies on the Urban Environment* – accompanied the adoption of numerous legislative provisions at the EU level, in the attempt to promote virtuous environmental policies, a sound economy, and high living standards (European Commission, 2009c).

Thirdly, and concerning the four specific policy sectors addressed in this research, the objectives of delivering a better air quality, better management of waste, energy saving and

urban regeneration are the cornerstones of *integrated environmental management strategies* in urban areas. In particular, the two sectors of air quality control and waste management are closely linked to the analysis of integrated environmental management strategies in urban areas. These two policy areas are related to other sectors in the field of environmental policy – respectively urban wastewater treatment and energy efficiency and transport – as well as to EU measures provisioned in other policy areas outside the environmental sphere (European Commission, 2009a). To this latter group we may ascribe some parts of the cohesion policy through its funding mechanisms and programmes – ERDF, Cohesion Fund, URBAN CI, URBACT –, the European policy for research and development (i.e. FP7 specific programme “Cooperation”), energy and transport policy, and the application of the internal market objectives to urban action, in particular the parts relating to the provision of services of general economic interest, public procurement and public-private partnership.

Therefore, the four instruments analysed to exemplify the Modes of Europeanization are:

- **Pi (ideation) Energy saving and renewal:** The Covenant of Mayors programme;
- **Pi (regulation) Waste management:** EU Packaging and Packaging Waste Directive 94/62/EC;
- **Pi (coordination) Air quality control:** EU Directive 1999/30 on air quality control;
- **Pi (distribution) Urban regeneration:** URBAN II Community Initiative (2000-2006);

Through the analysis of the processes underpinning the promotion of EU instruments within the four policy sectors considered, this research wants to *qualify* the encounter between urban systems of governance and the EU by accounting for the nature of the policy making and developments occurred in the territory of Turin.

The overall analysis assumes an “action-centred” perspective aimed at assessing interactions occurring during the diverse stages of the relation between urban actors and

the European Union within the EU-wide policy making. In particular, this research wants to unveil the mechanisms structuring both the “encounter” between cities and the EU and the “usage” that actors and institutions in urban systems can make by tackling the opportunities accompanying the policy action of the European Union. Mechanisms can eventually lead to the Europeanization of different components of urban governance (actors, instruments, procedures, paradigms).

The analysis combines in depth knowledge of the territorial context taken into consideration, with the use of qualitative methods in the form of documental analysis and focused interviews. The research proceeds through the analysis of documents regarding the policy instruments and the programmes under examination, both synchronically, in the contexts assessed, and diachronically at the level of the European Union, the national level and the urban territory considered.

Documental analysis is integrated with a series of semi-structured interviews to privileged actors at various levels (politicians and policy officers at the urban level, officers at the EU level, representatives of policy networks dealing with urban matters as well as officers at the level of the national administration) with the aim of combining the formalities emerging from the analysis of the official documentation with the perception and substantial testimony of key actors directly involved in the process.

The assessment of the Modes of Europeanization is performed through the *analytic tracing of processes* that combines analytical tools (public policy analysis and game-theoretical models) with more nuanced narratives of the cases analysed. This, in turn, should allow unpacking the mechanisms that contribute to translate macro-historical factors into specific political outcomes.

Narratives of this kind are guided by the in depth investigation of the selected cases of study – different *issue areas of policy* in our case – and assume the form of “logically persuasive and empirically valid accounts that explain how and why events occurred”

(Bates, *et al.*, 1998: 12). Thus, in practical terms, the explanation seeks to identify the actors interacting around specific policy issues and to link their choices to the observed events and outcomes. This is done by moving from the initial “thick account” of the domain under consideration, to the “thin” reasoning on the logics governing the processes that generate the phenomena of concern. Therefore, by building on an actor-centric theory, an analytic narrative captures the influence of history and the strategic actions of people.

Hence, the narrative is made of a setting of background conditions, a temporal frame of investigation, a sequence of events and scenes, and an ending. Narratives are then eventually interpreted on the bases of some critical appraisals concerning the consistency of assumptions with the factual reality, the logic enchainment of the premises with the conclusions following correct lines of reasoning (Bates *et al.*, 1998).

In particular, the specific knowledge of the context of investigation – *cities* – should allow to multiply the possibility of making predictions and observations as well as facilitating the access to documental sources and eventually to actors who are not mentioned in secondary literature. Furthermore, a good knowledge of the context of analysis allows to better guide the interpretation of the information available, thus selecting those that are more relevant for the goals of the research (Vitalis, 2006).

Besides that, the use of semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to integrate the contents of written documents and to formulate questions informed by theory to key actors taking part in the processes of interest (Bongrand and Laborier, 2005) as well as to better appreciate the importance of informal processes and of interactions having characterised them (George and Bennet, 2005).

4.5 Concluding remarks

This research can be ascribed to a tradition that seeks to analyse Europeanization from a rational-choice institutionalism perspective (Scharpf, 1997; Sheples, 1986, 2000; Tsebelis 1990), notably as regards its attention to account for the role of actors and the relevance of

their interactions in order to comprehend the processes and the mechanisms structuring the encounter between the EU and domestic systems. At the same time elements such as the “microscopic analysis” and the territorial dimension of investigation (Pasquier and Weisbein, 2004; Sawicki, 2000; Smith, 1999, 2000) are accounted for. Attention is directed at strategic interactions and the preferences of actors involved in the process of policy-making; dynamics of conflict and power distribution are also regarded and reconsidered as important elements of the analysis.

From a theoretical perspective this calls for combining elements from different scholars in political science. Therefore, we draw on accounts endorsing an actor centred perspective focusing on the role of intentional and rational individual actors that make reasoned choices given the likely choices of others and the contextual-institutional constraints they face, as postulated by *rational choice* scholars (Sheples, 1986; 2006). Additionally, attention is addressed at how rational actors generate collective outcomes and aggregate behaviours that are often socially sub-optimal and personally undesirable (Levi, 2007), without nonetheless, dismissing the importance of the institutional environment within which actors interact and frame their normative convictions, specifically by influencing the perceptions, preferences and capabilities of individuals (Scharpf, 1986).

ASSESSING the ENCOUNTER BETWEEN CITIES and the EUROPEAN UNION

Policy modes and mechanisms for Europeanization within Environmental domains in the city of Turin

According to the theoretical framework introduced in chapter 3 (Mechanisms and Modes of Europeanization), in Section II the analysis considers four theoretically distinct “Modes of Europeanization” via the account of different EU policy instruments and initiatives promoted within four policy issue areas⁴⁶ – *waste management, air quality control, urban regeneration* and *energy efficiency* – in the overall domain of sustainable development.

Through analytic narratives combining the in depth analysis of the four cases selected as typical of the theoretical modes of policy with the account of the different constellations of actors structuring the encounter between cities and the EU policy-making, the empirical chapters aim to unravel the causal mechanisms of Europeanization structuring the encounter between urban systems of governance and the EU policy-making,

⁴⁶ The four issues areas analysed and their relevance for the subject matter of this research are presented in more details in chapter 4 (Assessing Europeanization in European cities. Research design, methods and case selection).

EU POLICY FOR THE ENVIRONMENT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

The action of the EU policy machinery towards cities goes beyond the issue of structural funds and cohesion policy. The EU has acquired competence to legislate and intervene – by means of different instruments and juridical forms – within a growing number of sectors. In this connection, a significant range of EU-led measures in diverse domains of policy carry the potential to influence urban areas and in particular the modalities for the elaboration, management and implementation of policy at the city level.

By the same token, the strategic interest of European cities to participate in the EU-policy making has progressively expanded also to policy fields traditionally reserved to the initiative of national or regional authorities. Cities of Europe are therefore confronted with a new set of constraints originating at the level of the European Union, but moreover with an unprecedented bulk of opportunities.

The dismissal of specific initiatives addressed to urban areas during the Structural Funds' 2007-2013 programming period, and their incorporation into wider programmes managed at the regional level, is only one example of the shifting role of cities in the policy-making of the European Union. In this connection, policy interactions between cities and the European Union have considerably intensified. Urban areas in Europe are therefore subject to an enlarged set of challenges to which they need to respond in order to guarantee quality of life for their populations.

The remainder of this chapter will devote attention to the macro-area of sustainable development and in particular to the evolution of the EU policy for environment. Section 2 focuses on the principles and evolution of the EU policy for environment by looking at the policy instruments deployed by the EU to pursue its objectives in this domain.

Following that, the chapter will briefly go over some of the aspects characterising the process of Europeanization in the realm of environmental policy by drawing on the existing literature. This will allow to explore the role of cities in this policy domain and to recall some of the relevant policy instruments. Thus, the following section will delineate the guiding principles of the EU Sustainable Development Strategy with specific attention to its implications for cities in Europe through the consideration of the *Thematic Strategies for the urban environment* and the instruments for *Environmental Policy Integration* and *Integrated Environmental Management* in urban areas. Section 5 concludes.

5.2 Evolution and principles of the EU Policy for Environment

Since the late 1970s, environmental policy has become part of the competences of the EU, thus limiting the legislative autonomy of Member States, which would have been thereafter subject to an increasing bulk of EU regulatory and legislative measures in this policy. Environmental policy gained Treaty recognition only in 1986 with the entry into force of the Single European Act (Lenschow, 2005).

In the original Treaty of Rome, no formal recognition was granted to environmentally related aspects. With the adoption of the SEA in 1985, the competence of the Community to regulate environmental matters was formally recognised and the bases for an explicit European environmental policy were established. Development in this sense led to the endorsement of a great bulk of environmental legislation thereafter. In particular, the inclusion of a new Title VII on “Environment” in the EEC Treaty provided the formal legal foundation, thus acknowledging the Community’s competence to regulate environmental matters in those areas having an impact on the completion of the internal

market. Amongst the key policy decisions of this period it is worthy to mention the endorsement of the directive to limit emission from large combustion plants (88/609), the directive on controlling pollution through urban waste water (91/271), and the *Habitat* directive on the conservation of natural habitats and wild flora and fauna (92/43).

With the revision introduced by the Treaty of Maastricht (TEU) in 1992, and later on in the Treaty of Amsterdam (ToA) in 1997, a further simplification of the decision-making procedures was envisaged, thus easing the adoption of environmental legislation and the expansion of this area of activity. Worth mentioning in this sense is the introduction of the general principles of *sustainability* aimed at the promotion of “sustainable and non-inflationary growth regulating the environment” (TEU, 1992). In this connection, the rephrasing of Art. 2 made environmental protection a priority objective of the EU, on a comparable basis with economic concerns. Yet, the Treaty clearly stated “high level of protection” as one of the aims of the Community, which translates into the *precautionary principle* that entails the requirement to develop protective measures before actual environmental damages are evident (Wilkinson, 2002). Moreover, the Maastricht Treaty further clarifies the necessity to *integrate* environmental protection requirements into other policies as well as to appraise the *environmental impact* of the proposals undertaken by the Commission and afterwards implemented by Member States.

Finally, the TEU partially redefines the principle of *subsidiarity* as characterised in the SEA, although on a more restrictive basis. A clear legal basis for Community intervention was also envisaged in the sensitive area of town and country planning, thus *de facto* giving way for growing EU action in the area of urban policy. In the aftermath of the TEU, the European Environmental Agency was created (1994) and some relevant legislative acts were endorsed. Of particular relevance are the directive on limiting the volume and increasing the recovery of packaging waste (94/62), the regulation implementing the Montreal protocol of the Vienna Convention in the protection of the ozone layer

(3039/94) and the Framework Directive on air quality, earlier consolidating typically substance-specific directives on air pollution (96/62).

With the partial revisions accompanying the adoption of the Treaty of Amsterdam, amendments to articles affecting environmental policy were brought about. In particular, the *integration* principle was further strengthened towards a clearer definition of horizontal integration and sustainable development. Additionally, changes introduced in Art. 189 extended the co-decision making, and amendments to Art. 100 allowed Member States to introduce domestic rules to protect the environment that are stricter than Community norm⁴⁷. Further amendments were made to let Member States maintain solely existing higher standards, not to introduce new ones (Jordan, 2002b). Through Art. 191, the Treaty also conferred the right for citizens to access documents and information in possession of the Council, the Commission and the European Parliament. Relevant for our purposes is the inclusion of the environment in the list of policy areas where the Committee of the Regions is to be consulted. In this connection, additional environmental legislation was enacted. In particular, Framework Directive 2000/60 on water, the launch of the 6th Environmental Action Programme and the ratification of the Kyoto protocol on climate change.

Revisions subsequently agreed in Nice (2000) resulted less far-reaching than those hitherto brought about. In fact, qualified majority vote was not extended to the remaining environmental issue areas and the threshold for reaching a qualified majority was modified so as to ease the possibility to block the enactment of more active environmental policies (Lenschow, 2005). Nonetheless, some relevant measures were adopted, such as the directive establishing a scheme for greenhouse gas emission allowance trading within the Community (2003/87), directive 2003/96 restructuring the Community framework for the taxation of energy products and electricity and a directive to establish a framework on environmental liability based on the polluter-pays principle (2004/35). Therefore, whether

⁴⁷ The provisions envisaged in the former Article 100a are known as the “Environmental Guarantee”.

the post Maastricht period saw the progressive consolidation of the legal and institutional basis of the EU environmental policy-making, policy expansion recorded a certain slowdown, where action has been mostly addressed to reforming the regulatory agenda in this field (Knill and Liefferink, 2007). This latter trend substantiated in the call for a “new governance approach” to environmental policy and the need for more flexible policy instruments as stated in the fifth EAP (1993-2000) as well as in the intention for improved regulatory policy and collaboration voiced in the sixth EAP (2001-2010).

The successive enlargement of the EU in 2004 and 2007 resulted in the absorption of the new Member States into the policy making of the EU environmental policy. Further reforms as to decision rules and the substantial coverage of the environmental policy domain brought to the introduction of an “Energy Title” in the new Treaty of Lisbon (Lenschow, 2010).

Menaces to the environmental equilibrium accompanying economic development over the past decades made it necessary to conceive coordinated action aimed at environmental protection on an EU-wide scale, mainly in the form of comprehensive programmatic frameworks.

Hence, since 1973, the European Union has launched six different Environment Action Programmes (EAP) with the aim of setting up a global strategy of intervention for environmental protection. The 6th EAP⁴⁸ points out the necessity to overcome the mere legislative approach so as to exploit the potential of various instruments and initiatives to influence the decisional process at various levels and amongst different sectors of the society, including industry, politics and consumers (CITTALIA, 2008).

⁴⁸ The 6th Environmental Action Programme (EAP), adopted in 2002, sets out the framework for environmental policy-making in the EU for 2002–12 and outlines actions that need to be taken to achieve them. With four priority areas – climate change, nature and biodiversity, environment and health, and natural resources and waste – the 6th EAP aims for environmental protection requirements to be fully integrated into all EU policies and actions. In addition, it recognizes that policies must be based on sound science, economic assessment of cost-effectiveness and the transparent partnership of all the major stakeholders.

In particular, the programme evolves around five-priority axis for strategic actions. These are proposed in terms of ameliorating the implementation of the current environmental legislation, integration of environmental priorities with other areas of policy, greater coordination between environmental objectives and market-orientated measures, a better involvement of citizens in order to favour more environmentally-friendly behaviour and the consideration of the environment within matters of territorial organisation and management (Council, 2002). Seven Thematic Strategies were developed under the 6th EAP, building on the existing EU legal/regulatory framework. These address the subjects of atmospheric pollution, the marine environment, the sustainable use of resources, the prevention and recycling of waste, the sustainable use of pesticides, soil protection and the protection of the urban environment.

Overall, some general guiding principles are at the bases of the current EU attempt to protect the environment. These can be subsumed in terms of *prevention*, *subsidiarity* and *cooperation*. The former is addressed towards the endorsement of measures that aim to reduce environmental hazards before they fully disclose; to this end, environmental policy needs to be fully integrated with other policy areas whose deployment may lead environmental resources to degrade. Through subsidiarity, the intention is to guarantee that environmental policy objectives are pursued at the most appropriate level of territoriality; in turn, this requires synergies and actual collaboration between institutions and actors with the aim of assuring the effective protection of the environment.

This brief overview takes stock of how the environmental policy of the EU has grown steadily despite the changing political and economic climate affecting the process of European integration over the decades. Today, progress in this sense allows the EU to negotiate internationally and to impose sanctions on those actors that do not comply with the policy measures adopted at the EU level on environmental matters (Jordan, 2002a). In turn, this makes the environmental policies of the Member States no longer independent

from the environmental policy of the EU. Instead, these are increasingly intertwined in the EU-wide policy making into a system of governance involving multiple systems of territoriality. In this connection, a partial re-orientation has taken place as to the modes of interaction, where the action of issue-based networks and bottom-up forms of policy formulation and implementation are imposing over traditional forms of regulation (Knill and Lenschow, 2000).

Therefore, renewed forms of regulation and public participation assume increasing importance in the making of the EU policy for the environment. These, in turn, fall back upon different types of procedures, voluntary agreements and horizontally structured processes for the enforcement of policy as well as on sets of policy instrumentation. The latter aim to raise the responsibility of actors and to unite environmental interests – otherwise traditionally fragmented – in the policy process, than to impose constraining regulatory measures via vertical channels of command and control. New environmental policy instruments (NEPI) tend to favour indirect forms of regulation through incentive-based modalities of intervention that are meant to guarantee a certain degree of flexibility in the implementation of policy measures by the political, economic and social actors involved in the localities.

EU policy instruments for the environment

From the early days of the EU policy for environment, more than 200 legal acts have been enacted. Whether the initial phase was characterised by the prevalence of measures aimed to regulate technical standards, recent action has instead privileged the promotion of a more broad set of instruments. Thus, traditional “command and control” measures are blended with technology transfer instruments, market-based instruments, research, environmental liability provisions, green public procurement and voluntary schemes and agreements. The amount of these new policy measures is still rather limited if confronted with traditional EU legislative forms (Héritier, 2002); nonetheless their scope is larger than

the one of traditional directives, thus potentially favouring their acceptance by different segments of the society (Lenschow, 2005).

In this connection, the environmental policy of the EU deploys via an extensive range of financial and technical policy instruments. Amongst the former group, the LIFE programme launched for the first time in 1992 and presented again for the following 1996-1999 and 2000-2006 programming periods. Initiatives financed under the provisions of the renewed LIFE+ programme for the 2007-2013 period aim to promote the protection of nature and biodiversity, favouring good environmental politics and governance and boosting environmental information and communication⁴⁹. Alternative financial supplies for environmental matters are provisioned through the Cohesion Fund⁵⁰ and the resources of the European Investment Bank whose loans are subject to evaluation procedures to assure the compatibility between the financed projects and environmental equilibrium.

Accordingly, the European Union has adopted the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) procedure, which is promoted by the Commission for a growing number of policy areas and projects. In particular, EIA follows an integrated approach aiming at the involvement of an extended range of actors and at assessing the potential impact of new policy proposals in economic, social and environmental fields. Overall EIA is a procedure ensuring that the environmental implications – chiefly sustainability – of decisions are taken into account before the decisions are made⁵¹. Similarly, Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) has been introduced with the intent of evaluating the environmental

⁴⁹ The current phase of the programme, LIFE+, runs from 2007-2013 and has a budget of €2.143 billion. The legal basis for LIFE+ is Regulation (EC) No 614/2007. LIFE+ covers both the operational expenditure of DG Environment and the co-financing of projects. According to Article 6 of the LIFE+ Regulation, at least 78 percent of the LIFE+ budgetary resources must be used for project action grants (i.e. LIFE+ projects). For major information reference is made to: <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/life/index.htm>

⁵⁰ For the 2007-2013 period, the Cohesion Policy of the EU places specific focus on meeting the goals of the renewed Lisbon Strategy. This aim is pursued also via the action of the European Network of Environmental Authorities for the Cohesion Policy (ENEA) that brings together experts from environmental administrations, international organizations and environmental NGOs.

⁵¹ The Directive on Environmental Assessment (85/337/EEC) aims to provide a high level of protection of the environment and to contribute to the integration of environmental considerations into the preparation of projects, plans and programmes with a view to reduce their environmental impact.

consequences of initiatives undertaken in the context of national, regional and local programmes⁵². Besides that, Green Public Procurement (GPP) seeks to reduce the environmental impact caused by public sector consumption and to stimulate innovation in environmental technologies, products and services⁵³.

Overall, EU policy instruments for environmental protection can be distinguished in terms of legislative and regulatory instruments, economic and fiscal instruments, agreement-based and incentive-based instruments, information and communication based instrument, and voluntary instruments (Halpern, 2010; Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007)⁵⁴.

Within the former group, there are instruments setting environmental standards, namely technical norms establishing limit values for the concentration of pollutants in the environment in terms of emission, quality, process or product⁵⁵. Economic or market-based instruments, such as environmental taxes, tradable permit systems or targeted subsidies provide incentives to firms and consumers to opt for greener production or products. As such, they do not prescribe specific conducts; they rather induce to generate socially acceptable levels of production and pollution⁵⁶. Voluntary instruments are not compulsory to endorse and are meant to allow the contracting parties to orient territorial and environmental management towards sustainability criteria. Examples of voluntary instruments are the Local Agenda 21 and the Eco-Management Audit Scheme (EMAS)⁵⁷.

⁵² SEA has been firstly introduced in the European Union through Directive 2001/42/CE.

⁵³ The potential for green public procurement was first highlighted in the European Union in 2003 in the Commission Communication on integrated product policy. In 2004, Directives 2004/17/EC and 2004/18/EC, which constitute the European framework for the procurement of public contracts, clarified how purchasers can integrate an environmental dimension into the tendering process. The Commission handbook "Buying green!" adopted in August 2004, aims to further clarify how these new rules can be used to conclude green public contracts.

⁵⁴ An alternative classification of environmental policy instrument is proposed by Huppès (2001) who distinguishes between regulatory instruments, political-administrative instruments and social instruments in terms of: binding, option creating, market instruments, cultural/informational instruments, structural/institutional and procedural instruments.

⁵⁵ A complete list of Environmental policy instruments organised according to the types mentioned can be found in Halpern, C., 2010.

⁵⁶ Examples in this sense include water pricing, sustainable waste management, trading instruments to reduce local air pollution, instruments to reduce the environmental impact of transports.

⁵⁷ The EU Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS) is a management tool for companies and other organizations to evaluate, report and improve their environmental performance. The scheme has been available for participation by companies since 1995 and was originally restricted to companies in industrial sectors. Regulation (EC) No 1221/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25th November 2009 on the voluntary participation by organizations in a Community eco-management and audit scheme

Concerning the diffusion of innovative EU instruments for the protection of the environment departing from traditional forms of regulation, scholars' discussion on the "new environmental policy instruments" (Halpern, 2010; Huppel, 2001; Jordan, *et al.* 2003, 2005; Tews, *et al.* 2001) points out the role of the EU in favoring dynamics of policy transfer in the general process of innovation linked to the spreading of new forms of policy tools.

In this sense, the actual role played by the European Union has been differently perceived. Jordan and his colleagues (2003), for instance, distinguish between four different facets of the EU role as to the NEPI. The EU can act as a facilitating arena for the benchmarking of national approaches and the creation of European-wide networks for the diffusion of new instrumentations; a second case would see the EU acting towards preventing market disruption and protecting competitiveness. Yet again, the EU may function as a competitive arena creating the sufficient conditions for Member States to compete for economic advantages or instead minimize the costs from regulatory competition. A further scenario depicts the EU as an entrepreneur in making Member States policies converge; in this case the Commission mainly aims to expand the international role of the EU as well as to foster taxation issues (Jordan, *et al.*, 2003).

Nonetheless, the diffusion and promotion of NEPI, and more generally of EU policy instruments for the environment, are not immune to problematic implications. The mixed nature of policy instrumentation developed within the EU – often originating from national experiences and international law – poses in fact problematic questions concerning the mechanisms of coordination and policy change (Halpern, 2010). In this connection, the EU environmental policy is the resultant of differentiated processes of readjustment, mainly driven by means of policy instrumentation. This is a process where the EU mainly acted by "importing policy instruments from other political systems in order to legitimize

(EMAS) was published on 22nd December 2009 and entered into force on 11th January 2010.

its environmental competences” (Halpern, 2010: 54). Therefore, in most cases, EU policy instruments for the environment are the combination of various types of policy instruments, both already existing and newly imported ones (Jordan, *et al.*, 2005).

This brief overview of the main thrusts of the EU Environmental policy suggests that the process under consideration can be thought as one divided into five main components, namely its aim and principles (that substantiate in environmental programmes), key environmental problems (targeted in successive EAPs), specific EU legislation, transposition of EU policies into national law (in the case of Directives) and its implementation within national systems (Bailey, 1999). Often enough though, the management and implementation of EU environmental provisions and programmes consistently differs from the intended and written legislation. Therefore, a better analysis of the mechanisms at work – and eventually used – in the process of environmental policy implementation in different systems of territoriality can ameliorate the understanding of “their impact on harmonization and flexibility within the EU programme” (Krämer, 1996: 7).

EU environmental policy and the space for cities

Environmental protection is one of the priority objectives of the EU, where the attempt of integrating environmental priorities with socio-economic goals brings the question of policy integration and sustainability at the forefront of the policy agenda. As affirmed in a communication from the Commission to the Council and the Parliament, most European cities are afflicted by a common set of environmental problems, ranging from poor air quality to high levels of traffic congestion and ambient noise, greenhouse gas emission, urban sprawl and generation of waste and water (European Commission, 2006).

Differently than in other phases, socio-economic development is currently one of the chief missions of local authorities and territories. This represents a major novelty in terms

of policy production at the local level, where economic development is no longer an exclusive national priority (Dente, 2010). One manifestation of this trend is the increasing attention devoted to matters of environmental protection, where the role of cities and local authorities has progressively shifted from being aimed to elaborate remedial activities to the proactive attention for the sustainability of policy choices and activities.

In this connection, the role of cities as potential drivers to improve the environment has long been recognised by the European Commission. The Green Paper on the Urban Environment (European Commission, 1990)⁵⁸ marked the opening of a renewed course of action towards urban issues at the European level. For the first time, it was explicitly recognised that the majority of EU policies have an influence on urban areas; this represented a first step to think beyond sectoral strategies, instead considering the entire range of factors – social and economic – that are at the bases of environmental problems.

Attention to the urban dimension was further voiced in a successive Communication on Sustainable Urban Development in the EU, where the Commission set four major action goals. These were expressed in terms of strengthening economic prosperity and employment in towns and cities, promoting equal opportunities, social integration and the rehabilitation of run-down areas, improving the urban environment (management of transport, waste, energy etc.) and contributing to good urban governance and increased participation of local actors and citizens (European Commission, 1998)⁵⁹. Following that, key strategies were formalized in the *Community Framework for cooperation to promote sustainable urban development*⁶⁰ in the form of good practices to be addressed to networks of towns and cities organized in the EU wide policy-making.

⁵⁸ COM (90) 218.

⁵⁹ COM (98) 605.

⁶⁰ Decision No 1411/2001/EC.

Building on the priority objectives as set in the 6th EAP (2002), a *Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment*⁶¹ (European Commission, 2006) was adopted so as to provide a framework for an integrated and focused approach based on existing instruments and initiatives. Four priority themes for action are thereto associated: guidance on integrated urban management, guidance on sustainable transport plans, support for EU wide exchange of best practices, Commission Internet Portal for Local Authorities, training and drawing on other Community Support Programmes.

A considerable number of environmental policies – although aimed to address general problems and negotiated within international or EU arenas – are currently managed and implemented by local actors within urban and regional systems. In this connection, cities fulfil a decisive role within environmental policies; they are systems where the fiercest menaces common to many areas in Europe can be tackled more efficiently by recurring to integrated strategies and innovative solutions. Environmental problems within local territories assume, in fact, a particularly complex character; this is mainly due to their intertwined causes, often concerning multiple policy fields.

Tackling these problematic features is particularly complex in cities as their causes are often inter-chained and due to the potential conflicts rising in the policy-making process between the various governmental systems having competence to act upon the policy areas in question. In this connection, integrated approaches to urban environmental management building on long-term and strategic action plans and the inclusion of different territorial systems in the elaboration of perspective solutions are essential to effectively address the problematic aspects of the urban environment.

⁶¹ COM (2005) 781 final.

5.3 Sustainability and Environmental policy integration

The concept of *sustainable development* can be expressed in terms of balancing the attainment of current needs without nonetheless hampering the possibility for future generations to meet their requirements (WCED, 1987). In turn, reaching a generalised equilibrium for a better quality of life requires a renewed vision of progress that integrates multiple objectives, actions to be undertaken within diverse systems of territoriality, and above all attention to be paid to the interdependence of ecological and developmental goals, so as to consider social, economic and environmental issues as inseparable components for humankind progress⁶².

Therefore, the “core principles” of the notion of sustainability can be subsumed into: “intra-generational equity, poverty alleviation, public participation in decision making, technological and environmental limits to growth and environmental policy integration” (Adger and Jordan, 2009: 9). Whether the discussion on sustainability was mostly concerned with the notion of limits to growth and human consumption, today focus is on the interdependencies between earth systems and the different uses of the environment (Adger and Jordan, 2009).

In particular, the integration of different policy domains in the attempt to protect the environment is reputed necessary insofar as the drawbacks stemming from pollutant emissions in the atmosphere, the inappropriate exploitation of water resources, the increasing waste production and the exponential increase of mobility and thus of vehicles use – above all in urban areas – are today evident. Nonetheless, these negative implications go parallel with the bulk of opportunities from environmental protection. In particular, the

⁶² The interdependence between ecological and economic goals – the “conceptual core” of sustainability, was already discussed during the 1972 UN Conference in Stockholm. In the Brundtland Report in 1987 sustainable development was defined as “...a development that guarantees the needs of present generations without jeopardizing the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987). An alternative definition portrays instead sustainable development as “improving quality of life without exceeding ecosystems’ capacity...” (UN Environmental Programme, World Conservation Union and World Wide Fund for Nature, 1991). Additional definitions of sustainable development have been offered so as to include elements of regeneration of resources, provision of basic environmental, social and economic services to all members of the community, yet again cultural diversity. For a complete overview on the evolution of the concept of sustainable development see Lenschow, A. (2002).

increasing demand for a better environmental quality and a greater efficiency in service provision in the EU is accompanied by new occupational possibilities, the valorisation of economic and human resources as well as of those goods produced under criteria of environmental sustainability (CITTALIA, 2008).

Relevant for our purposes is the distinction between two main dimensions of sustainability, namely the potential outcomes of the dynamic – as quality or sustainability of human wellbeing – and the character of the processes it underpins. In turn, these elements point to the overall *governance* of sustainability (Adger and Jordan, 2009; Farrell, *et al.*, 2005; Jordan, 2009, 2008) and to the importance of decision-making for the sustainability of outcomes. In particular, pointing to the tension between process and outcomes allows to better investigate the scope conditions for sustainability and the phases of deliberation, argumentation and implementation constituting the process (Adgar and Jordan, 2009), thereby highlighting the relevance of the actors' constellations involved in each of these steps and the policy instruments deployed from time to time within different systems. Sustainable Development Strategies and Environmental Policy Integration can be seen as two of the cornerstones of the EU policy instrumentation to promote sustainable development.

In this connection, in 2001, the European Council adopted a Sustainable Development Strategy for the EU (European Commission, 2001a) that provides a long-term vision in the attempt to combine economic objectives with social cohesion and environmental protection. This early document puts specific emphasis on policy coordination and integration, to be complemented by the application of impact assessment procedures for all major policy proposals. The main intention motivating the introduction of this new approach was the promotion of environmental integration by allowing an extended appraisal of the potential environmental costs of all major proposals of the Commission.

Sustainable development strategies (SDSs) burgeoned over the last decade as a way to favour policy integration at different levels of governance and territoriality (Busch and Jörgens, 2005), including the EU, the national and sub-national dimension (Berger and Steurer, 2008). Following the recommendations as agreed at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit and then coalesced in the Agenda 21 programme, few European Countries began to adopt national SDSs during the 1990s; most Countries in the EU developed sustainable development strategies by 2002, in the running up to the Johannesburg World Summit for sustainable development (Steurer and Martinuzzi, 2005).

To give greater coherence and eventually effectiveness to the SDSs adopted, both the UN and the OECD⁶³ formulated a set of guidelines thereby recommending to consider existing policies and plans when elaborating new strategies, to proceed via the analysis of economic and environmental data, and to integrate economic, social and environmental policies and objectives (Steurer, 2009). The overall understanding of sustainable development strategies emerging from these recommendations depicts SDSs as “strategic processes that combines aspects of formal planning and incremental learning, and that put strong emphasis on the procedural and institutional aspects of policy making” (Steurer, 2008: 95).

The first EU sustainable development strategy launched in 2001 and the renewed EU SDS adopted in 2006 (Council, 2006) built on the principles of policy integration and juridical-societal integration established internationally. In particular, the latter EU SDS recognises the need to modify consumption and production patterns and to achieve a better integrated approach to policy-making. In the intentions of the Commission this should be achieved through developing long-term actions to improve quality of life, a better use of resources and the promotion of environmental protection and social cohesion. As such, the Strategy – organised around seven priority axes – is aimed to guide EU action until 2010. The key priority challenges are climate change and clean energy,

⁶³ A specific outline of the OECD guidelines can be found in the document *Strategies for Sustainable Development: Practical Guidance for Development Cooperation*, Paris: OECD.

sustainable transport, sustainable consumption and production, conservation and management of natural resources, public health, social inclusion-demography-migration and global poverty-sustainable development challenges. In particular, the 2006 Strategy called for the implementation of mechanisms able to improve coordination with other levels of government and to involve different sectors of business and the society.

In the rise of the international economic crisis, in 2009 the European Commission adopted a review of the EU SDS. Herewith, the Commission recognises the partial success obtained by the EU in mainstreaming the objectives of sustainable development into a broad range of policies – in particular climate change – but it also takes stock of some of the pending problematic elements that hinder the full attainment of sustainable trends. The communication underlines the necessity to reinforce the compatibility between measures adopted to support the real economy and to reduce the social impact of economic crisis and the long-term sustainability goals. Therefore, sustainability ought to be extended so as to cover both the ecological and the financial domains; this, in turn, can be achieved through the development of low-carbon and resource efficient consumption patterns, knowledge based and socially inclusive society and the global promotion of this approach (European Commission, 2009).

EU SDS and Environmental Policy Integration

Since 1997 environmental integration has been a legal requirement in the EC Treaty, which states the need to integrate environmental protection in the definition and implementation of the Community policies. The sixth EAP reiterates this requirement, thus recommending to deepen further this principle.

The EU sustainable development strategy can be interpreted as a strategic process relevant for environmental integration because it seeks to balance the economic, social and environmental dimensions of policy making (Steurer, 2009: 93). As such, the utter purpose of Environmental Policy Integration (EPI) is to ensure that environmental protection

becomes a constitutive part of decision-making. Therefore, in the context of sustainable development, the overall rational of environmental policy integration is “to ensure that the long-term carrying capacity of nature becomes a principal overarching societal objective” (Jordan and Lenschow, 2008a: 8).

In this connection, developments within the EU have been recorded with the launch of the “Cardiff process” in 1998, where it was formally required that different Council formations would integrate environmental considerations into their activities, thus giving practical actuation to Art. 6 of the Treaty of Amsterdam. Although without explicitly mentioning EPI, the Lisbon Strategy, as set in 2000, pointed out the importance of considering economic goals alongside environmental and societal objectives towards ensuring sustainable development and social inclusion.

The main objectives of EPI plans are the achievement of sustainable development and the prevention of environmental degradation, removing contradictions between policies as well as within policies and realising benefits by making policies mutually supportive (Collier, 1997). Building on this end-oriented definition, Lafferty and Hoven (2003) give a more nuanced conceptualisation of EPI as the “incorporation of environmental objectives into all stages of policy-making in non-environmental policy sectors...and an attempt to aggregate presumed environmental consequences into an overall evaluation of policy, and a commitment to minimise contradictions between environmental and sectoral policies by giving principled priority to the former over the latter” (Lafferty and Hoven, 2003: 9).

Relevant for the gist of this research is the distinction between different dimensions of environmental policy integration. Thus, for instance, one can distinguish between ideational/cognitive, institutional/organisational and actor dimensions when seeking to explain patterns of EPI in the European Union (Lenschow, 2002), or instead endorse an institutional, political, policy, or cognitive perspective to the analysis of different streams of EPI (Jordan and Lenschow, 2008a). Whether in the former case analytical attention is predominantly on the governmental process leading to the elaboration and adoption of

EPI, when stressing the policy dimension, the analysis focuses more specifically on the different phases of the policy-making and the different constellation of actors structuring each of these stages as well as the role they play in the management and implementation of environmental policy instruments.

Environmental Policy Integration can be therefore pursued within most policy sectors in the context of the EU policy-making. Interconnections with the EU environmental policy and above all potential risks for the environment may be found in several issue areas in the context of which actions have been envisaged through the deployment of different sets of policy, extended policy programmes, or instead more tailored EU-steered initiatives.

Thus, Cohesion Policy during the 2007-2013 programming period ensures integration with the environment via the Structural and Cohesion funds, whereas, in the realm of the agriculture sector, the EU planned tasks are meant to protect and preserve the quality of water, air and soil. Environmental policies also have a strong potential to influence the creation of jobs and dynamics of social inclusion more generally, especially in the case of policies supporting the development of new environmental technologies, such as for instance the EU Emission Trading Scheme and the Environmental technologies Action Plan. Rather intuitively we can assume that energy production and consumption has environmental impacts, above all in terms of pollution deriving from energy related emissions. EU sustainable energy policies aim to balance risk prevention and the security of supply. Environmental concerns are high in the research and development agenda of the EU in the attempt to find solutions to current problems affecting the environment.

Following the recommendations of the Industry Council in 1999, the Commission proposed an action plan to promote the integration of sustainable development into enterprise policy, which coalesced in an industry integration strategy in 2001⁶⁴. The EU

⁶⁴ The Industry Council of 6-7 June 2002 adopted Conclusions on the contribution of enterprise policy to sustainable development. The Council considered economic growth as a prerequisite to achieve sustainable development, as it provides essential additional resources that are needed in order to tackle environmental

SDS also applies to the internal market; there is in fact the need to find a balanced approach between the free movement of goods and environmental protection. An internal market integration strategy was therefore adopted in 2001⁶⁵.

Therefore, EPI and the SDS provide a broader framework for environmental policy, particularly with regard to setting wider strategy and targeting policy-making processes. On one hand they are geared towards tackling the root causes of environmental degradation by seeking to address potential impacts before they manifest. On the other hand, directives and NEPIs are more “end of pipe-like solutions” to minimize damages in already occurring activities.

The EU SDS and the implications for cities

The local context represents a key dimension for the elaboration and thereafter the implementation of strategies aimed to pursue environmental sustainability within territories, where environmental pitfalls and the environmental un-sustainability of economic development loom large (Boeve and van Middlekoop, 2010).

In urban areas, in fact, there is a concentration of different human activities, which lead to high levels of waste production and atmospheric pollution, thus producing a constant tension between the human system and the surrounding environment. Today’s environmental emergency makes it necessary to elaborate innovative intervention strategies based on alternative logics of organization and models of development able to increase the value of social, economic and environmental local resources and eventually guarantee their reproduction (CITTALIA, 2008). Cities can play a crucial role in achieving sustainable economic, social and territorial development within multiple dimensions in Europe.

pressures and reinforce social cohesion. Furthermore, the Communication “Industrial policy in an enlarged Europe” (COM(2002)714 final) adopted by the Commission on 11th December 2002 recognizes the need to develop and strengthen policies in the area of sustainable production.

⁶⁵ The EU’s internal market integration strategy, adopted in 2001, sets out a series of objectives, actions and indicators, and was the first step towards this goal. The strategy is implemented through existing EU legislation such as standardisation, public procurement, eco-labeling, taxation, environmental agreements, State aid, and industry and product policy.

In relation to this point, EU policy action has tackled sustainable urban development from different perspectives and within diverse areas, such as regional development, environment, health and transport. EU legislation aims to strengthen the responsibility and the role of cities administrations through subsidiarity, in the overall attempt to favour greater policy integration and a more efficient policy management within territorial systems.

Thus, for instance, policy initiatives have been undertaken in the field of territorial development with the adoption of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP)⁶⁶ and the Territorial Agenda of the EU in May 2007, which more clearly underlined the potentials of promoting sustainable urban development through balanced territorial organisation, where cities are expected to act in synergy with other territorial authorities. The Community Initiative URBAN (1994-1999, 2000-2006) represented a clear action in this respect and the mainstreaming of its tenets in the 2007-2013 funding period proves the attempt to favour the adoption of long-term comprehensive strategies based on both vertical and horizontal policy integration (European Commission, 2009).

In this connection, urban territories become decisive contexts where environmental drawbacks and the potential environmental risks linked to human and economic activities may be tackled most effectively. An early attempt to address the relation between environment and urban development is represented by the Green Paper on the Urban Environment (European Commission, 1990) sketching out some of the main concerns to be dealt with via an overall EU strategy. Building on this process, the EU adopted the Thematic Strategies on the Urban Environment in 2006⁶⁷. The communication takes stock of the most relevant areas of intervention in relation to the 6th EAP and suggests action on

⁶⁶ http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docoffic/official/reports/som_en.htm. Additionally, this initiative launched the second round of transnational cooperation programmes (INTERREG) and the European Spatial Planning Observatory Network (EPSON).

⁶⁷ An interim Communication “Towards a Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment” was adopted in 2004 with the aim of seeking the opinion of stakeholders on the issues under analysis.

four priority themes: urban management, sustainable transport, construction and urban design, by pointing out the synergies with other policies (European Commission, 2006).

In particular, the Strategy points out the cross-cutting character of the proposal advanced by the Commission, which aims to promote local integrated frameworks able to account for the high degree of interdependence between policy issue within urban systems as well as to elaborate measures to limit environmental risks. Cities can play an important role in adapting to climate change and tackling greenhouse gas emission; sustainable urban transport plans⁶⁸ to promote low CO₂-emission vehicles and sustainable constructions to improve energy efficiency⁶⁹ are possible solutions in this sense. Biodiversity in urban areas can instead be favoured through sustainable urban design and the promotion of sustainable land-use policies⁷⁰. Furthermore, policy solutions implemented within urban areas can play a crucial role in ameliorating the quality of life, in particular by addressing the issues of air quality⁷¹, transport and environmental noise⁷². Additionally, better urban management can reduce the impact of the daily use of natural resources and improve the capability to face the negative effect of waste production through the diffusion of measures for waste prevention and recycling⁷³.

Greater coordination between different policies and initiatives, as well as enhanced cooperation between different administrations is deemed necessary to create high quality urban areas and to improve the environmental performances of cities in Europe (European

⁶⁸ Sustainable Urban Transport Plans are intended as summaries of the current situation in relation to the best available practices on sustainable urban transport across the EU. In parallel the EU launched the CIVITAS Initiative (2002-2006/2005-2009) with the aim of promoting and supporting the implementation of integrated urban transport strategies (<http://www.civitas-initiative.org>) and the ELTIS platform for the transfer of knowledge and experiences in the field of urban and regional transport (<http://www.eltis.org>).

⁶⁹ In support of its energy policy, the EU launched the Intelligent Energy-Europe programme (<http://ec.europa.eu/energy/intelligent/>) to promote energy efficiency in building and industry (SAVE), cogeneration of heat and power, new and renewable energy sources for electricity, heat, bio-fuels (ALTENER), energy aspects of transport (STEER).

⁷⁰ Land use is addressed in the Thematic Strategy on Soil Protection (COM(2006)231 final) that outlines the themes of rehabilitation and reuse of brownfield sites with the aim of reducing soil sealing and assuring a rational use of soil.

⁷¹ With the publication of the Thematic Strategy on Air Pollution (COM(2005) 446) the Commission considers targets and measures intended to control particular matters and ozone pollution, including measures relating to transport and small combustion plans.

⁷² Directive 2002/49/EC

⁷³ The Thematic Strategy on the Prevention and Recycling of Waste entails a Directive setting the obligation for Member States to draw up waste prevention programmes at the most appropriate geographical level.

Commission, 2006). Integrated environmental management to be pursued on the bases of solid policy integration is considered an essential process to attain these goals, and more generally a key element to achieve sustainable development (Goria, *et al.*, 2010).

The EU principle of *subsidiarity* – according to which every decision must be taken at the most appropriate level – becomes particularly relevant when policy actions aim to tackle environmental issues (David, 1998). In this connection, subsidiarity entails an approach that does not limit to the sole territorial distribution of competencies, but aims to favour cooperation between authorities in different territorial systems, where cities and their citizens may have a proactive role in the policy process (Catenacci, 2010).

Therefore, environmental policy integration (EPI) in the case of local authorities can be interpreted in its vertical dimension, when local actors and institutions contribute to the development and implementation of environmental policies elaborated by other governmental bodies (i.e. central government or the European Union) and in terms of horizontal integration when a causally-oriented approach to environmental problems is endorsed. In this latter case, policy integration can be applied to multiple levels of management and environmental issues can be differently combined both within the environmental apparatus itself and into other policy areas (Catenacci, 2010).

As stated by the Thematic Strategy on the Urban Environment, sustainable urban development ought to rely on the integrated approach. National and regional authorities are required to support municipalities in achieving more integrated management at the local level. Integrated environmental management aims to tackle related issues together, such as in the case of urban management and governance, integrated spatial planning, economic wellbeing and competitiveness, social inclusion and environmental stewardship (European Commission, 2007).

In the attempt to achieve this perspective, the approach must rely on cross-departmental sector cooperation, engagement with all relevant stakeholders and integration

of local, regional and national policies. The overall aim of promoting integrated environmental management in cities is to achieve compliance with the existing environmental legislation, to improve coherence and cost-effectiveness of different policy measures, to improve environmental awareness of citizens, to attain cost saving through reduced resources and utilities and to improve economic competitiveness through cutting costs as well as contributing to national and European objectives on the Environment and Lisbon Strategy (European Commission, 2007: 8).

5.4 Concluding remarks

This overview has shown how cities and urban areas can be a critical mainstay where environmental risks can be tackled most effectively through the promotion of innovative and integrated policy measures.

For the gist of this research a focus on environmental policies allows to simultaneously consider other policy areas and instruments as well as their deployment within other system of administration (i.e. regional, national and EU-wide). This is mainly due to the highly interwoven character of environmental policy issues and to the compound nature of policy instrumentations promoted to attain its objectives.

Urban environmental policies in Italy seem to lag behind their equivalent in the rest of the EU countries (CITTALIA, 2008). In this connection, amongst the most problematic elements there remain high levels of pollution, the unsatisfactory use of local public transport and – despite some exceptions – still insufficient standards of recycling and waste disposal. Air quality persists as the main problem in this sense, where in about 40 cities, the presence of dangerous particulates remain over the worrying level for human health; on the

very same lines is the situation for waste management, where only 1 every kilos of produced waste is recycled⁷⁴.

More specifically, the 2009 ISTAT (2010) survey on the environmental situation in about 100 Italian cities shows how the per-capita water consumption in 2009 (68 m³) decreases by 0,7% compared to the situation in 2008, but it is consistently lower than the value in 2000 (75,3 m³). As to transport, in 2009 provincial capitals recorded a motorization rate equivalent to 617 cars every 1000 inhabitants (+0,4% as compared to 2008). As regards *atmospheric pollution*, during 2009, in 65 Italian cities the threshold of PM₁₀ concentration was exceeded beyond the target-limit of 35 days per annum, where the figure rocketed to 54,1 days on average⁷⁵. Contrasting are the figures relative to the control of noise pollution; there is in fact great differentiation as to the adoption of territorial zones of acoustic control, with percentages ranging from 90,9% in the central areas of the Country, to only 38,1% for the capitals in the islands. On the other hand, the figures relative to the density of *urban green areas* are encouraging with an average percentage of 9,3 in 2009, substantially stable compared to 2008, but more than doubled compared to 2006 (4,2%). The per-capita production of *municipal waste* decreased in 2009 (604,3 Kg) but contextually a 1,5% reduction of the overall disposal of waste was also recorded, where waste disposal reaches an overall percentage of 30,4% out of the total. In 2009, 26 provincial capitals succeeded in respecting the normative provision stating that 50% of waste⁷⁶ had to be recycled. The overall figure for the 115 provincial capitals in 2009 as to the domestic *energy consumption* remains substantially unvaried, with a slight increase in the per-capita consumption of methane gas for domestic purposes and heating increased by 0,2% compared to 2008.

⁷⁴ Data are drawn from the Legambiente report: *Ecosistema Urbano 2008* – XIV Report on the environmental quality.

⁷⁵ In 2008 the average of days was 57.

⁷⁶ The Italian act of Law n. 296 (December 2006) Art.1 defines the following objectives as to the separate collection of waste: 40% by 31/12/2007, 50% by 31/12/2009 and 60% by 31/12/2011. Decree 152/2006 Art. 205 postpones the objective of 35% to 31/12/2006 as well as defining additional objectives to be pursued in every optimal territorial area by 31/12/2008 and within 31/12/2012 of respectively 45% and 65%.

It is against this background that EU instruments for environmental protection and for the promotion of sustainability in urban areas have been promoted and thereafter implemented in cities. EU instruments and regulatory provisions intertwine with programmes and legislative measure promoted at different moments in time by other administrative bodies (i.e. Central administrations and Regions) and sometimes by other international organizations, such as for the Agenda 21⁷⁷ process that aims to promote solutions for sustainable development through the integrated approach to decision-making and policy promotion. We contend that the action of the EU within different policy areas contributes to affect the logics of governance within urban territorial systems and the ways cities and their actors interact within the EU wide policy-making.

EUROPEANIZATION VIA MODES of IDEATION

The Covenant of Mayors programme for Energy saving and renewal

6.1 Introduction

The production of renewable energy sources features as a subject of particular concern for many Western governments. This is due to both the environmental problems linked to the use of traditional energy sources and to the necessity of reaching greater differentiation in patterns of energy use, because of the progressive depletion of traditional stocks.

The fight against climate change, and thus the promotion of alternative energy use is a top priority for the European Union. In this connection, the EU has launched a series of initiatives and set ambitious objectives to be attained in each Member State. This is meant to provide incentives for alternative energy use, thus boosting the production of different kinds of renewable energy: thermo solar, solar photovoltaic, wind-power and natural biomasses. Therefore, the overall objectives to be reached by 2020 – known as the “20-20-20” *targets* – foresee the reduction of greenhouse gasses by 20%⁷⁸, the reduction of energy consumption by 20%⁷⁹ and above all an increase in the use of renewable energy sources by bringing it to 20% of the total energy consumption.

Half of greenhouse gas emissions are produced by cities, and the main bulk of total energy is consumed within urban areas. Local authorities can play a key role in mitigating climate change; this is not only because local administrations are the closest to citizens, but above all for their potential to favour the relations between public and private interests and therefore the possible integration of sustainable energy into more general plans for local-territorial development. City governments are progressively realising the benefits of tapping

⁷⁸ The percentage of greenhouse gasses reduction is to be calculated by assuming 1990 as the baseline year for the calculation of emission.

⁷⁹ For Italy the value has been fixed to 17%.

the adverse effects of climate change through the promotion of local sustainability strategies. Despite the activism revealed by local administrations in Europe – “one of the latest developments in the analytical and policy sphere of climate change” – coherent and necessary policy frameworks are still missing (Egenhofer, *et al.*, 2010).

An important step towards the full recognition and support for the role of cities in this policy domain was taken by the EU with the launch – amongst other initiatives – of the Covenant of Mayors (CoM)⁸⁰ in 2009, which gives European cities the opportunity to coherently put in place local sustainable energy policies through long period action plans.

The involvement of signatories translates into a series of concrete measures and projects, and in their commitment to report and being monitored during the implementation of the Action Plans. Despite its recent launch, the Covenant of Mayors initiative brought into focus the importance of supporting local action by contextually designing a structure of governance able to sustain and address long-term objectives and actions (Egenhofer, *et al.*, 2010).

Considering the promotion and initial implementation of a voluntary-based initiative like the Covenant of Mayors with reference to a specific territory, allows us to point out some of the mechanisms structuring the relations between actors that trigger change and transformation within various arenas. In this connection, the process of Europeanization is thought as unfolding following patterns of communication, benchmarking, policy learning and transfer, eventually leading to the promotion of new paradigms and tools of governance through a general dynamic of extended socialisation and reflexivity. Two main reasons motivate the choice of accounting for the Covenant of Mayors initiative as the instrument to exemplify ideation as a mode of Europeanization.

On one hand, the voluntary nature of the programme, which implies – at least prospectively – a certain degree of dynamism and self-organization of the cities that participate, thus the necessity to put in place an internal system of partnership to secure the

⁸⁰ <http://www.eumayors.eu>

acceptance of the candidature and the eventual realisation of the planned actions. On the other hand, the role of the EU and of the European Commission in particular, which in this case is confined to the initial promotion of the initiative and to the eventual funding of the planned actions in the localities, whereas management and monitoring are outsourced to an external structure. We contend that interactions developing in the context of the CoM thus far as well as within the urban system of Turin during the early phases of the initiative, chime with some properties of *cheap talk* game models and more generally the class of imperfect information games, like the *signalling game*.

After presenting some background information about the policy area under consideration, the chapter will outline the development of the instrument chosen to characterise *ideation* as a mode of Europeanization. Section 4 shall therefore make sense of the way the Covenant of Mayors is being addressed and managed in the case of Turin, thus eventually restructuring some of the modalities traditionally employed to carry out similar initiatives in the city. The conclusive section will anticipate some considerations about the nature of Europeanization and strategic interaction for this mode of Europeanization.

6.2 Contrasting climate change in the European Union

The EU has long been at the forefront in combating climate change. As of the early 1990s, the European Union played a decisive role in international negotiations that led to agreements respectively on the United Nations treaties, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change in 1992, and the Kyoto Protocol in 1997. By the mid-2000s the European Commission officially declared that tackling climate change would have been the main challenge for European Countries as well as the central thrust of EU action in the years to come (Oberthür and Pallemmaerts, 2010).

In 2007, EU leaders agreed on a comprehensive package⁸¹ of climate and energy policies aimed at transforming Europe into a highly energy-efficient, low carbon economy. Integrated measures were adopted to reduce emissions by 20% from their 1990 levels by 2020, to centralise and strengthen the emission trading system⁸², boosting the use of renewable energy, limiting emissions from new cars⁸³ and funding new carbon capture and storage facilities⁸⁴ (Jordan, *et al.*, 2010).

As argued by Jordan and his colleagues, some main reasons make the analysis of the EU's effort to govern climate change – and we contend also the analysis of the role of cities in this sense – a subject of particular interest. The EU is a rather significant emitter of greenhouse gases, with a total emission share of about 10,5% in 2006⁸⁵ that still largely depends on the use of fossil fuels. At the same time though, the EU is an important player in the global governance of climate change and its leading role in this sense dates back to the early 1990s. Yet, the EU has been consistently acting within its Member States through the promotion of a long series of initiatives and programmes that contributed to the progressive Europeanization of diverse national and local policy domains (Jordan, *et al.*, 2010).

Whether the action of the European Union in the period prior to 1988 mainly evolved around scientific researches commissioned by the Directorate General Environment, the creation of a Commission's inter-service group on “greenhouse issues” – and the release of

⁸¹ The EU climate and energy package sets emission reduction targets for several sectors, but the attainment of sector-specific targets often requires measures within other sectors. Specific information in this regard can be retrieved from: http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index_en.htm

⁸² Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 October 2003 establishing a scheme for greenhouse gas emission allowance trading within the Community.

⁸³ Regulation (EC) No 443/2009 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 setting emission performance standards for new passenger cars as part of the Community's integrated approach to reduce CO₂ emissions from light-duty vehicles (23 April 2009).

⁸⁴ Directive 2009/31/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 23 April 2009 on the geological storage of carbon dioxide.

⁸⁵ Data are available in the European Environmental Agency “Annual EC Greenhouse gas Inventory 1990-2006 and Inventory report 2008. EEA Technical Report 6/2008. Copenhagen: EEA, cited in Jordan *et al.*, 2010.

the first Communication on climate change⁸⁶ – and the European Council’s declaration in Rhodes bestowed a certain degree of political support on internal developments. Thus, EU action became more explicit through the exploration of specific policy options and instruments. Following this initial phase of “agenda setting”, more tangible initiatives were taken by Member States in the post-1988 stage and in 1992 the Commission launched a first package of proposals concerning the areas of energy efficiency, renewable energies, CO₂ emission and fuels (Jordan and Rayner, 2010). This laid down the basis for the cohesive participation of the EU in the adoption of the United Nation Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Despite the partial backlash following the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992 and a general climate of stalemate as to the adoption of climate change policies at the EU level, Member States eventually managed to reach an agreement that allowed the EU to sign the Kyoto protocol as a unique actor. Through the European Climate Change Programme launched in 2000, the Commission intended to develop new policies and measures by favouring the dialogue with an extensive range of groups and actors. Amongst the policies adopted, there were a voluntary agreement with car manufacturers secured in 1998 and a series of proposals are particularly relevant and culminated in the adoption of the Emission Trading Directive⁸⁷ in 2003 (Oberthür and Kelly, 2008). A series of other initiatives were afterwards adopted to back the launch of the ECCP⁸⁸, and the action of the EU – with the re-launch of the ECCP in 2005 – ventured into new policy domains, such as carbon capture and transport. The new course of action was waved in a comprehensive

⁸⁶ The Greenhouse Effect and the Community. Communication to the Council. Commission Work Programme Concerning the Evaluation of Policy Options to Deal With the “Greenhouse Effect”. Draft Council Resolution on the Greenhouse Effect and the Community. COM (88) 656 final, 16 November 1988.

⁸⁷ Directive 2003/87/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 October 2003 establishing a scheme for greenhouse gas emission allowance trading within the Community and amending Council Directive 96/61/EC.

⁸⁸ Amongst these measures there are the Communication (COM 2001/580) on the ECCP claiming for new policies to be adopted, a Decision to ratify the Kyoto protocol thus formalising the burden sharing agreement, Regulation (842/2006/EC) and Directive (2006/40/EC) limiting the emission of fluorinated gases, a Directive setting minimum standards for the energy performance of buildings (2002/91/EC).

Green paper in 2007⁸⁹, in a report issued by the Commission during the same year⁹⁰ and in the launch of a new climate strategy⁹¹ where four priority action areas – renewable energies, carbon capture and storage, bio-fuels, energy efficiency – were set up.

Yet, an overall package of proposals was launched in January 2008 under the title of *20 by 2020 – Europe's Climate Change Opportunity*⁹². As previously stated, it is principally aimed at reducing emissions by 20% and incrementing renewable energy by 20%, before 2020. Nonetheless, the attainment of the objectives as fixed in the package will require embarking on a series of reforms – both nationally and at the EU level – to establish new mechanisms to cope with the requirements of the attached regulation as well as new forms of financial and technological support (Jordan, *et al.*, 2010: 11).

Table 6.1 Timeframe EU policy for “climate change”

| DATE | ACTION |
|----------------------|---|
| July 1988 | Commission's Communication on greenhouse effects (88) 656 final |
| December 1988 | European Council's Rhodes Declaration |
| February 1992 | Launch of the first Commission's “climate package” © |
| 1992 | Adoption of the UNFCCC |
| December 1992 | Signing of the Kyoto protocol |
| June 2000 | Launch of the European Climate Change Programme |
| October 2003 | Adoption of the Emission Trading Directive 2003/87 © |
| 2005 | Re-launch of the European Climate Change Programme |
| 2007 | Adoption of the “Adapting to climate change in Europe” Green Paper |
| January 2007 | Launch of the <i>Energy Policy for Europe</i> strategy of the European Commission |
| January 2008 | Launch of the Commission's Climate and Energy Package © |
| April 2009 | Adoption of Directive (406/2009/EC) on “Effort Sharing” © |
| April 2009 | Adoption of the amended Directive on ETS (29/2009/EC) |
| April 2009 | Adoption of the Directive 2009/31/EC on “carbon capture and storage” |

Source: personal elaboration

⁸⁹ “Adapting to climate change in Europe – options for EU action” (COM/2007/354 final).

⁹⁰ Communication from the Commission, *Progress Towards Achieving the Kyoto objectives* (required under Decision 280/2004/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning a mechanism for monitoring Community greenhouse gas emissions and for implementing the Kyoto Protocol)

⁹¹ *Limiting Global Climate Change to 2 Degrees Celsius – The way ahead for 2020 and beyond* (COM (2007)2) and *An Energy Policy for Europe* (COM (2007)1).

⁹² (COM (2008)30). The core of the package comprises four main legislative acts. A revision and strengthening of the Emission Trading System that foresees a single EU-wide cap on emissions allowances to apply from 2013 through the progressive entry into force of a system of auctioning. An ‘Effort Sharing Decision’ (406/2009/EC) governing emissions from sectors not covered by the EU ETS, such as transport, housing, agriculture and waste. Additionally, binding national targets for renewable energy will be introduced in order to lift the average renewable share across the EU to 20% by 2020 and a legal framework to promote the development and safe use of carbon capture and storage (CCS) (i.e. Directive 2009/31/EC).

Cities can play a prominent part in the fight against climate change. The EU is gradually developing policies and instruments to favour the action of local authorities in this domain.

The EU Covenant of Mayors initiative as promoted by the European Commission represents a pioneering example in the attempt to combine actions and investments to reduce GHG emissions, thus tapping the regulatory and financial power of cities to engage in low-carbon investments (Egenhofer, *et al.*, 2010).

Embarking on low-carbon strategies may be more effective and acceptable at the local level than on the national or international scale, since actions can affect other tangible domains, such as the quality of life, social cohesion and the environment. In this connection, the role that cities can play is diversified, where local authorities can act as suppliers of services, consumers of energy and emitters, regulators and planners as well as leaders in promoting change through awareness campaigns and the diffusion of information (Egenhofer, *et al.*, 2010).

6.3 The Covenant of Mayors programme

With the purpose of tapping the potential benefits of action at the local level within each of the domains mentioned above the European Commission launched the Covenant of Mayors (CoM) programme. The main rationale behind the programme was to promote actions and eventually boost change within local territories by at the same time respecting the subsidiarity principle. Besides that, there was the intention to boost “sustainable development business”⁹³ through the CoM. The Covenant, as such, was not an initiative of the EU Commission, which instead acts as a platform to favour the feasibility of the overall initiative.

During the development of the programme, this should imply the actual involvement of “all stakeholders” interested in the energy saving and renewal policy and process,

⁹³ Interview to D. Wierds. EUROCITIES, May 2010.

therefore not solely central administrations, within a logic of “impossibility to detach energy policy from the actual place where energy is consumed and produced”⁹⁴. Therefore, city mayors commit to going beyond the EU-CEP objectives in terms of CO₂ reduction through the implementation of Sustainable Action Plans (SEAP), which are prepared by the local authorities themselves.

The programme has now reached its “delivery phase” with almost 3000 signatories⁹⁵ that committed to respect the EU’s CO₂ reduction objective by 2020. Signatories are expected to submit their local Sustainable Energy Action Plans (SEAPs) following their accession and regular reporting on their progress. The CoM received the endorsement of the Committee of the Regions that gave its favourable opinion on the CoM in 2009. The first Covenant was signed in the European Parliament in February 2009.

The Covenant was preceded by the launch of 30 Pilot projects in 2006, together with the *mise en place* of energy efficiency action plans and a general consultation process. When the CoM was launched in 2009, about 100 cities signed the document of commitment. The increasing number of cities involved in the initiative contributed to increase its overall credibility, and for the time being its operational success. Through the Covenant of Mayors, one of the main intentions of the European Commission is to pursue the creation of a “credible action asset”⁹⁶ by matching political commitment with concrete action. In this vein, the Covenant functions as a benchmark for future initiatives within the same policy domain.

Participant authorities are due to submit their action plan within one year following the adhesion, where the strategic actions to reach the CO₂ reduction targets are outlined, so as to involve both public and private actors. The Covenant Office provides guidelines⁹⁷ for

⁹⁴ Interview to R. Doubrava. DG Energy – European Commission, May 2010.

⁹⁵ The figure refers to September 2011.

⁹⁶ Interview to R. Doubrava. DG Energy – European Commission, May 2010.

⁹⁷ Guidelines are aimed at providing recommendations for the elaboration of SEAPs and for CO₂ baseline inventory. Building on baseline emission inventories, signatories can more accurately estimate the actual sources of emission and therefore the range of efficient actions to be implemented. Major information about the guidelines for the drafting of the SEAPs can be found at: http://www.eumayors.eu/actions/sustainable-energy-action-plans_en.html.

the compilation and implementation of SEAPs, which have been prepared following recommendations of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) of the European Commission. SEAPs have to include actions in the sectors of built environment, including new buildings and major refurbishment, municipal infrastructures (district heating, public lighting, smart grids, etc.), land use and urban planning, decentralised renewable energy sources, public and private transport policies and urban mobility, citizen and, in general, civil society participation, intelligent energy behaviour by citizens, consumers and businesses.

In this connection, the “assessment procedure” of the submitted Plans deploys following a three steps process. After a *quick check mechanism* based on the criteria set in the Council decision on effort sharing⁹⁸ as well as on the compliance to the strategic axis of the programme – an *eligibility check* is performed. Finally, a *consistency check* is carried out and cities are informed. A parallel verification process is eventually undertaken towards those signatories, which are unlikely to respect the commitment to deliver an Action Plan. Those are warned through a three-step process and eventually their participation in the programme is “frozen” till they actually present a feasible Plan.

The European Commission does not act directly towards the signatory authorities, but its role is channelled via the action of a CoM Office⁹⁹. In particular, the Office provides technical and promotional assistance, it implements evaluation and monitoring tools and facilitates dynamics of information sharing between cities, the exchange of virtuous experiences and eventually the replication of successful measures. The JRC backs the CoM Office by providing benchmark examples to streamline existing activities and networks in order to support the role of local authorities¹⁰⁰.

In turn, some institutional partners ensured their contribution to the Covenant. This is necessary to assure a certain level of political support to the programme. Thus, the CoM

⁹⁸ (406/2009/EC).

⁹⁹ The CoM Office is funded through the Intelligent Energy Europe Programme (<http://ec.europa.eu/energy/intelligent/>) and aims to facilitate networking activities within the Covenant, support the promotion of the Covenant of Mayors, support liaison with other actors in the Covenant and support liaison with other relevant EU initiatives and policies.

¹⁰⁰ Additionally, the JRC operates a technical helpdesk service in co-operation with the CoM Office, researches new methodologies and tools and assists in the selection of Benchmarks of Excellence.

found the full support of the EU Committee of the Regions, the European Parliament that hosted the first signature ceremony and the European Investment Bank, which furnishes technical assistance facilities for the definition and implementation of financial instruments in cities. Supporting structures¹⁰¹ are instead deputed to provide guidance, financial and technical support to those municipalities willing to sign the Covenant, but lacking the necessary skills and resources to prepare their own SEAPs.

The European Commission is creating specific financial mechanisms to sustain local authorities in carrying out the planned actions. Hitherto, three main financial instruments can be deployed to fund or incentive action within the context of the CoM.

The European Local Energy Assistance (ELENA) instrument aims to trigger further investments in the area of energy efficiency, renewable energy sources and sustainable urban transport. In turn, the facility is funded through different financial streams. The European Investment Bank guarantees the involvement of international financing institutions to finance projects with a budget superior to €50m. Financing is mainly meant to stimulate investments at the local level despite the general scenario of economic crisis, so as to also boost the “spending capacity” of local authorities, thus eventually promoting a culture of action going beyond mere distribution. Furthermore, investments in the area of energy efficiency are supposed to generate new jobs as well as actual savings and income for cities and local administrations. ELENA-KfW, on the other hand, supports medium size investment initiatives of less than €50 million with a focus on carbon crediting via the involvement of commercial banks acting locally. In partnership with the Council of Europe Development Bank, ELENA-CEB provides assistance to develop investment projects in the field of social housing.

A second main instrument of financial support attached to the CoM is embedded in the Intelligent Energy Europe Programme (IEE), which aims to mobilize local economic instruments and to favour energy integrated plans and better economies of scale. The

¹⁰¹ Supporting Structures can be District administrations, Regional offices or networks of local authorities committing to improve the impact of the Covenant.

European Energy Efficiency Facility (EEEF) provides further financial leverage through the European Economic recovery Programme and the EIB in order to provide equity, guarantees and debt products for public authorities¹⁰². The ELENA financial instrument has proven particularly successful thus far. Together with the overall success of the initiative, this led to the amendment of the ERDF regulation. Now, managing authorities will be able to use ERDF to create “revolving funds”.

As to the implementation stage of the programme, it is important to underline how the main effort today consists in the elaboration of a common monitoring methodology, which will eventually lead to a system for the certification of emissions reduction, whose legal bases are already given by the “effort sharing” regulation. This obliges Member States to reduce emissions by an additional 10% in the non-ETS sectors. Concerning a common methodology, there are on-going discussions between DG Clima and DG ENER responsible for the programme at the Commission, especially regarding the elaboration of sound mechanisms to boost initiatives for energy saving and renewal at the local level (i.e. cities).

The CoM office has received a new contract to cover actions for the upcoming two and half years, whereas the auxiliary role of the JRC has been prolonged for another three years. Relevant for the gist of our investigation in this sense, is the intention to set up a renewed system of coordination based on instruments for enhanced “capacity building”¹⁰³.

In particular, the effort will be addressed towards the elaboration of a portal for E-learning, where the signatory cities can take part in on-line seminars, benchmarking and policy learning based on an overall dynamic of decentralization. The intent is therefore to

¹⁰² Additional financial sources can be tapped by local authorities taking part in the programme drawing on the different streams of the Structural and Cohesion Funds (ERDF, ESF, CF), JESSICA - Joint European Support for Sustainable Investment in City Areas – technical assistance, JASPERS – Joint Assistance to Support Projects in European Regions – that assists the 12 Central and Eastern Member States in the preparation of major projects to be financed under the Structural and Cohesion Funds. Further support can be found in the cooperation programme INTERREG IV (A, B and C) and through the European exchange and learning programme URBACT as well as in the Municipal Finance Facility and the Sustainable Energy Initiative.

¹⁰³ Interview to R. Doubrava. DG Energy – European Commission, September 2011.

boost networking and knowledge-diffusion between cities sharing similar needs. This, in turn, should boost a twofold dynamic. On one hand, cities and their networks are likely to increase their lobbying capacity towards national governments as well as to EU institutions; on the other hand, this should constitute a trigger to implement local actions based on the integrated approach.

In the words of its proponents, the Covenant represents the creation of a policy programme “from the people and for the people”¹⁰⁴. Promising results have been showed thus far, especially due to the sound evidence given by cities’ action. The expectation though, is to have greater feedback loops to other policy areas where local actors may actually play a decisive role. Nonetheless, some main weaknesses are recognised.

The partial incapacity to properly link the energy part of the initiative to other policy sectors seems to be the main hindrance towards the full achievement of the objectives as set by the proponents of the programme. The CoM has certainly been successful in raising awareness, ownership and generating interests in the localities, but the real challenge is now posed by the actual implementation of the plans. The main pitfall in this sense is the partial lack of capacity to act, which would require a legal mandate for cities and local authorities to take decisions and to regulate in the area of emission reduction¹⁰⁵. Improvements are deemed necessary as to the processes of measurement, reporting and verification. Currently, in fact, emissions are reported through a non-harmonised system, made of different methodologies that hinder statistical comparison, and therefore prospective elaborations. This is closely related to the need to enhance mechanisms of consultation with cities, for the selection and evaluation of projects as well for the quality control of the plans so as to guarantee their overall feasibility.

In this connection, a precondition for the success of the programme, and for the overall attainment of its objectives is that local actions are acknowledged and attain major

¹⁰⁴ Interview to R. Doubrava. DG Energy – European Commission, September 2011.

¹⁰⁵ In this connection, cities can legislate/regulate on just a small part of the emissions produced within their territories (~20% of the total emissions), whereas the most partmost of them are regulated at the national level, under the provisions of the EU ETS (Egenhofer *et al.*, 2010).

visibility in order to receive the support of citizens, potential funders, investors and local businesses. The CoM provides a valuable platform to wave, discuss and stimulate local government actions, but above all it contributes to construct a durable and effective political and financial framework that will eventually constitute the basis for a sound and integrated EU-wide policy (Egenhofer, *et al.*, 2010). “The CoM is the base for using financial resources in the most virtuous manner. The most valuable manner to boost innovation is to put in place a system able to guarantee the continuous availability of information through different streams, such as a benchmark system for excellence, networks, a functional central office, enlarging the number of participant cities”¹⁰⁶.

6.4 Exploring the mode: the Covenant of Mayors in Turin

Amongst the Countries that committed to the Kyoto protocol, Italy lags behind *vis-à-vis* the other signatories and did not manage to attain the objectives set for 2010. Veritably, this occurred despite the political and normative measures introduced in order to harmonise the national situation with the strategies endorsed at the EU level, particularly as regards the promotion of renewable energies (Amatucci and Vestito, 2009). In turn, the delay accumulated by the Country in relation to the Kyoto objectives hampers the achievement of the targets set by the *Burden Sharing System* of the EU¹⁰⁷. This is a rather surprising negative performance, especially in the light of the role that Italy played since the early '80s for the promotion of renewable sources following the deployment of a National Energetic Plan in 1981.

¹⁰⁶ Interview to R. Doubrava. DG Energy – European Commission, September 2011.

¹⁰⁷ Italy has been assigned an overall objective of greenhouse gasses reduction equivalent to 13% for non-ETS sectors in relation to 2005 values. The national objective for the renewable energy share is 17% of total consumption by 2020 according to a system based on pro-capita income. Nonetheless, pollutant emissions increased by 12% in 2006 – baseline 1990 (Legambiente, 2008).

As part of the decentralisation process undertaken in Italy, the provisions of the law decree 112/98¹⁰⁸ transferred to regions and local authorities – amongst others – competences in the field of energy, thus retaining for the central State the role of defining general national guidelines and the adoption of coordination acts for regional energetic planning. Regions are instead deputed to coordinate the action of local authorities in the field of energy saving. Local authorities are in charge of the functions relating to the development of programmes to boost renewable energy sources and energy saving, the control of thermic plants production and performance, yet granting authorisations for the establishment of new plants. In compliance with the provisions of directive 2001/77 of the EU¹⁰⁹, Italy adopted law decree 387/2003¹¹⁰, which established national objectives for the use of renewable energy sources, as to both the production and consumption of electricity and the incentive mechanisms.

With the endorsement of a National Strategic Plan in 2007¹¹¹, Italy underlined the chief importance of promoting local development through boosting the production of renewable energy and favouring energy saving. These objectives will be therefore pursued via a strategy aimed at removing those ties still impeding the full diffusion of renewable energy sources by fully implementing regional operational programmes.

To date, the majority of Italian regions have approved their own energy Plan as well as the Regional Environmental Energy Plans (as provisioned by Art. 5 of the law 10/91 on the “norms for the actuation of the National Energy Plan, energy saving and development of renewable energy sources”)¹¹². Nonetheless, the division of competencies for energy

¹⁰⁸ Law decree 31 March 1998, n. 112 “Conferimento di funzioni e compiti amministrativi dello Stato alle Regioni ed agli enti locali, in attuazione del capo I della L. 15 Marzo 1997, n.59”, published in the Official Journal on the 21 April 1998, n. 92, S.O.

¹⁰⁹ Directive 2001/77/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 27 September 2001 on the promotion of electricity produced from renewable energy sources in the internal electricity market.

¹¹⁰ Law decree 29 December 2003, n. 387 “Attuazione della direttiva 2001/77/CE relativa alla promozione dell'energia elettrica prodotta da fonti energetiche rinnovabili nel mercato interno dell'elettricità”, published in the Official Journal n. 25, 31 January 2004. In particular, the decree introduces important novelties as to inventive mechanisms via the so-called “Green Certificates.

¹¹¹ *Quadro Strategico Nazionale per la politica regionale di sviluppo 2007-2013*, Ministry for Economic Development, June 2007. Available at: http://www.dps.mef.gov.it/documentazione/QSN/docs/QSN2007-2013_giu_07.pdf.

¹¹² Decree 1998, n. 112 lists the competences reserved to the Central State and the Regions in energy matters;

matters remains a sensitive subject, since uncertainties persist in the relation between regions and the central administration, and between regional authorities and local governments, especially when granting authorisations for new energy plants¹¹³.

Table 6.2 Legislative “climate change” timeframe in Italy

| DATE | ACTION |
|---------------|---|
| January 1991 | Adoption of the Law 10/91 “norms for the actuation of the National Energy Plan, energy saving and development of renewable energy sources” |
| March 1997 | Adoption of the Law 59/97 “delegation to the government for the attribution of functions and tasks to regions and local authorities, for the reform of the public administration and for the administrative simplification” |
| March 1998 | Decree 112/98 in actuation of the law 59/97 © |
| December 2003 | Decree 387/2003 in actuation of directive 2001/77/CE on the promotion of electricity from renewable sources © |
| June 2007 | Adoption of the Strategic National Framework for the regional policy of development 2007-2013 © |

Source: personal elaboration

Also in the Italian case though, local authorities – cities – can play a decisive role in boosting the production of renewable energies. Municipalities are *de facto* entitled of the territorial development policy, according to the regional guidelines. In this connection, cities issue regulations to favour the reduction of heating dispersion from buildings and the self-production of energy, by introducing for instance new planning criteria and the obligation for energetic certification¹¹⁴. Overall, energy saving is a relevant task for local authorities in Italy, which seek to orient their action towards the minimisation of wastage and the better rationalisation of energy use. This attempt necessarily needs to foresee useful actions to raise public awareness and eventually boost responsible behaviour through the active involvement of local actors in the territorial development.

Logic of action in Turin

it also establishes the exclusive obligation for the regions to introduce a Regional Energy Plan in respect of the guidelines as outlined in the National Energy Plan.

¹¹³ For a more comprehensive overview of these aspects, reference is made to: Amatucci, F. and Vestito, D. (2009) *Lo sviluppo di fonti energetiche innovative per la realizzazione di ambienti urbani sostenibili*, CITITALIA working paper 5/2009, pp. 33-36.

¹¹⁴ In particular, Art. 5 of the law 10/91, establishes that the General regulatory Plans of municipalities with a population over 50000 inhabitants are due to endorse a Municipal Energy Plan.

In the context of the second edition of the EU sustainable energy week¹¹⁵ – January 2008 – the city of Turin showed its will to join the CoM programme. The official subscription to the programme took place in February 2009, following the formal domestic approval through the endorsement of a Council resolution¹¹⁶ during the session of the municipal Council in January. Like the other signatories, Turin committed to elaborate and implement a SEAP – Turin Action Plan for Energy (TAPE) – with the intention of reducing CO₂ by 2020¹¹⁷. In particular, better energetic performance of existing buildings, a more diffused use of renewable energy sources, innovative transport policies as well as the extension of urban district heating have been set as the key objectives for the new energy strategy of the city, through the participation in the CoM.

Amongst the reasons for the city of Turin to take part in the CoM programme there is the intention to take advantage of the renewed role of the mayors in Italy, who now have more chances of decisional manoeuvre vis-à-vis the central administration. Despite the general climate of economic scarcity at the local level, the intent is to anchor existing projects and plans to a wider programme of intervention like the one provisioned under the aegis of EU support¹¹⁸. Additionally, the practicality of the CoM programme was deemed as one of the main reasons for the city's participation as well as an occasion to harmonise and improve the relations between public and private subjects involved in the development of the city territory¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ <http://www.eusew.eu/>.

¹¹⁶ Council resolution 2008 - 08712/02, available at:

http://www.comune.torino.it/giunta_comune/intracom/htdocs/2008/2008_08712.html.

¹¹⁷ In particular, CO₂ emissions in Turin dropped by ~19% during the period 1991 (baseline)-2005. The TAPE foresees a further reduction for the 2005-2020 period, that should contribute to an overall reduction by 40% for the 1991-2020 period. Specific figures regarding emissions inventories can be retrieved from the Turin SEAP at: <http://www.comune.torino.it/ambiente/bm~doc/tape-3.pdf>.

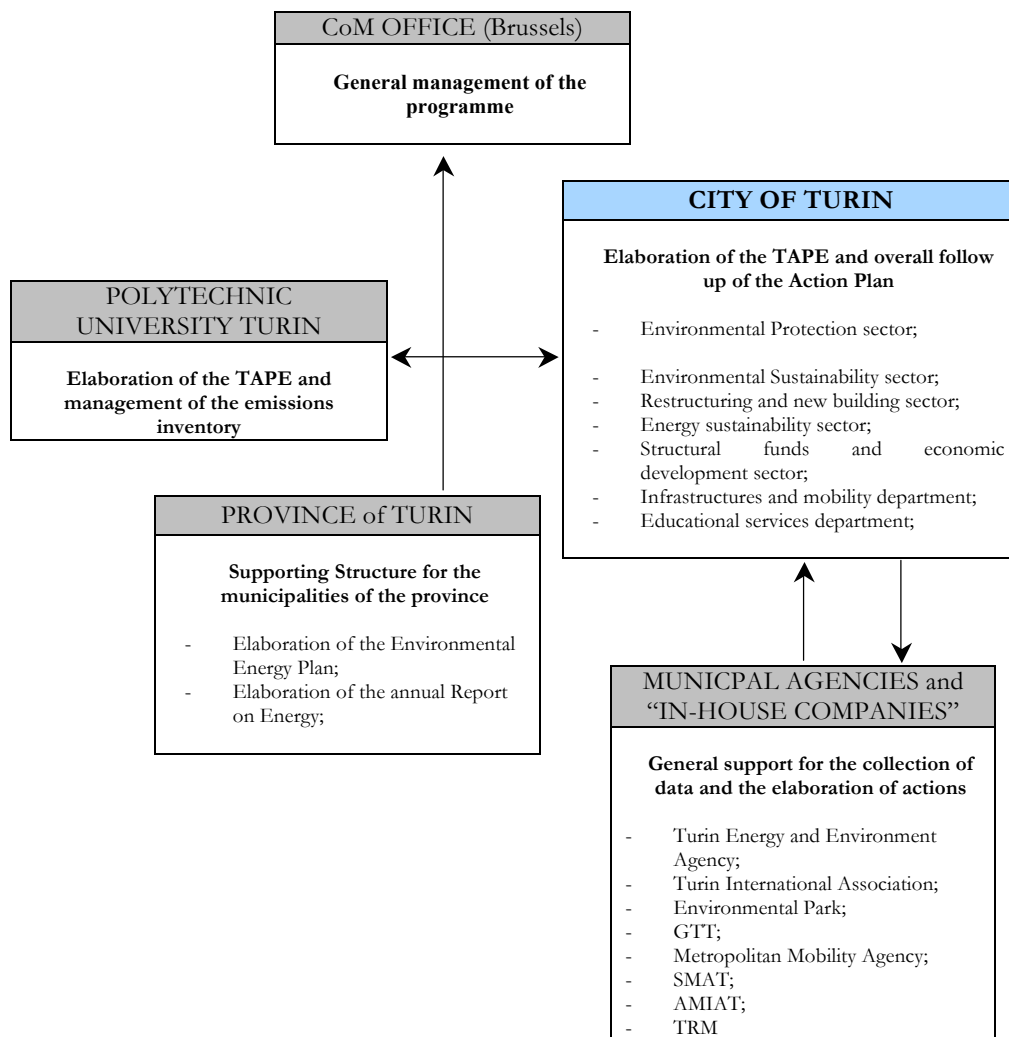
¹¹⁸ Interview to G. Bianciardi. Environment Department – City of Turin, March 2011.

¹¹⁹ Amongst the municipal structures competent in environmental matters there are the “environmental protection sector”, the “environmental sustainability sector”, the “municipal energy sustainability sector”, the “municipal buildings restructuring sector” and the sector deputed to “structural funds and economic development”. Amongst the qualified agencies operating in the territory: the “energy and environment agency”, “Envy Park”, “Turin international association”, the “metropolitan mobility agency”, and numerous “in-house” companies (the “Group society Turin Transport”, IREN, the “metropolitan company Turin water”, AMIAT, and TRM).

The methodology afterwards employed to work out the SEAP for the city saw the direct involvement of two main operational bodies: the *City of Turin* and the *Turin “Politecnico” University*, whose relation was regulated through a specific three year protocol signed in October 2009. Amongst the subjects involved in the process of data collection and elaboration of emissions inventory – that then led to the choice of actions to insert in the SEAP – there were different sectors of the municipality, the Piedmont Region, the Province of Turin, AMIAT, GTT, IREN, SMAT, ATC and FINPIEMONTE. In particular, the regional administration endorsed a programmatic relation on energy in 2009, thus setting ambitious targets for energy saving and use of renewable sources.

Apart from defining interventions in the energy field to be carried out in urban areas, the Province of Turin is in charge of the Environmental Energy Plan elaboration and of drafting the Provincial energy report. Both of these activities are relevant for the actual redaction of emission inventories and the definition of actions to be undertaken. On this occasion, the Province is acting as supporting structure for the CoM. It has been giving assistance to 35 municipalities – excluding Turin – within the provincial territory since February 2010. Not only this activity translates in the “promotion” of the programme in the localities, but also in monitoring and proposal through “integrated packages”.

Figure 6.3 The Covenant of Mayors in Turin



Source: personal elaboration

The Turin Action Plan for Energy was elaborated following the Commission guidelines. As such, it includes the inventory of the CO₂ emission relative to 1992 and the record for 2005. In this connection, the action plan elaborated afterwards foresees a set of actions to be carried out by 2020; these are oriented towards energy saving, improving energy efficiency and the use of renewable energy sources. Therefore, 51 different actions are planned in the housing and tertiary sectors, industry, transport, and local production of electricity, district heating, urban planning and green procurement.

Thus a “TAPE Local team” – composed of both public managers and experts – was established for the actual definition of the Plan and the overall review of the planned

actions. In turn, each sub-group was then in charge of organising meetings with different stakeholders in order to illustrate, amend or integrate the proposed actions and seek for new collaborations in view of the implementation phase.

The TAPE was officially presented in November 2010. Monitoring and follow-up and evaluation of the actions aimed at CO₂ emissions reduction are foreseen to assure the possible adaptation of the process to changing conditions and to attain, nonetheless the overall final objectives. Officers directly involved in the elaboration of the SEAP in this case, point out how major difficulties were encountered during the process of data retrieval about the inner area of Turin as well as in the absence of specific financial streams for the cities adhering to the CoM¹²⁰.

Table 6.4 Timeframe for Turin

| DATE | ACTION |
|----------------|---|
| January 2008 | Expression of interests to take part in the Covenant of Mayors |
| May 2008 | Pre-access to the Covenant of Mayors via Council resolution |
| May 2008 | Notification to the European Commission of pre-adhesion |
| January 2009 | Approval – via Council resolution – of formal adhesion to the Covenant of Mayors © |
| February 2009 | Official signing of the Covenant of Mayors in Brussels © |
| May 2009 | Operational meeting of the Italian cities adhering to the Covenant of Mayors, in Turin |
| October 2009 | Signing of the three years agreement with the Polytechnic University |
| November 2009 | Specific operational agreement with the Polytechnic University for the implementation of the working plan |
| November 2009 | Presentation of the European Commission guidelines for the preparation of the action plan by the Ministry for Environment, in Turin |
| November 2010 | Publication of the 7th Provincial Energy Report |
| September 2011 | Approval of the Action Plan for Energy via Council resolution © |

Source: personal elaboration.

Insights into the Europeanization of energy saving in Turin

The Covenant of Mayors has the character of a “voluntary activity” for cities. As goes for Turin, each of the decisions taken concerning the programme are, in fact, the resultant of a

¹²⁰ Interview to G. Bianciardi. Environment Department – City of Turin, May 2010.

Council resolution (such as it was the case for the TAPE approval). Each of the planned actions, as afterwards featured in the SEAPs, depends on the “city” and is addressed to the transformation of the city, as an overall demonstration of the voluntary action of the Mayor. As such, the involvement of stakeholders – though encouraged by the Commission – is also at discretion of the municipal administration.

Interviews reveal how the city of Turin decided to take part in the CoM to pursue an already locally established path oriented towards the attainment of significant environmental objectives, specifically those aimed at boosting energy efficiency and energy saving in the urban territory¹²¹. Additionally, participation in the CoM programme was perceived as a further occasion to foster the experience gained in the field of local development and environmental sustainability, thereby enhancing established practices of consultation and partnership already in place within the territory and part of the working method employed by the city administration.

Turin was the first “big size” Italian city to adhere to the CoM and to present a sustainable energy action plan. In this connection, several meetings were organised with the CoM office in Brussels to coordinate the initial phases of the programme. Contextually, a national focus point – at the Ministry for Environment – was created to coordinate the interplay between the Italian local administrations that signed for the programme and the European Commission.

Nonetheless, the city administration of Turin and the European Commission – CoM Office – maintain a rather direct relationship in this sense. Contextually, the Provincial services acting as supportive structure for the municipalities of the territorial area of Turin (and of the Province) that take part in the programme entertain regular relations with other supporting structures – in Italy and abroad – as well as acting in the coordination group for the Italian local authorities taking part in “Agenda 21”¹²².

¹²¹ Interview to C. Cortassa. Environment Department – City of Turin, September 2011.

¹²² A general overview on general aim and activities of the Agenda21 coordination group can be found at: <http://www.a21italy.it/IT/index.shtml>.

Turning our attention to the range of transformations occurred within the policy structures in the territorial system of Turin during the timeframe considered for the analysis of *ideation* as a mode of Europeanization, it is possible to formulate some considerations on the perspective character of the process of Europeanization.

As confirmed by officers in charge of the overall coordination of the programme in the city of Turin – particularly those involved in the elaboration and management of the sustainable action plan – taking part in the Covenant of Mayors programme has not translated in remarkable changes as to the number and type of actors involved within the policy domains here concerned. The involvement of stakeholders in the case of the CoM in Turin is, in fact, the resultant of a series of processes that have long been in place within the urban territory. This is further proven by the TAPE structure, presented and afterwards approved by the city of Turin. Amongst the proposed actions leading to CO₂ emissions reduction by 2020, a considerable bulk was partially already in place before the actual involvement in the community programme. In this connection though, the increased legitimacy of local actors – and more generally of the “model” proposed by the city of Turin as a whole – *vis-à-vis* other Italian cities, other “urban partners” in Europe and thus the EU institutions (e.g. the European Commission) – will largely depend on the overall deployment and eventual success of the actions as proposed in the TAPE¹²³. A more tangible upgrade in the degree of innovation will be finally reached with the possible participation of Turin in the EU “Smart Cities” programme¹²⁴ for which the elaboration and implementation of a SEAP is perceived as a necessary condition.

As to the instruments promoted over the last decade to reduce CO₂ emissions and to favour energy saving – also through renewable energy use – a number of initiatives can be attributed to the municipality of Turin, especially to the Mayor and the different services within the Department for environment and the Housing sector. Hence, the only relevant

¹²³ Interview to C. Cortassa. Environment Department – City of Turin, September 2011.

¹²⁴ <http://www.smart-cities.eu/index2.html>.

EU-induced innovation in this sense corresponds to the financial instruments at support and incentive of the actions foreseen by the TAPE that will be deployed following the final approval of the Turin Action Plan by the Commission.

Concerning the procedures accompanying the Covenant of Mayors programme, key actors involved in the TAPE elaboration revealed that several of the practices employed thus far are similar to those already in place in the city before the involvement in the communitarian programme. Nonetheless, participating in the Covenant of Mayors – especially during the “Energy Plan” organization and drafting phases – favoured (and somehow obliged) synergies and a continuous dialogue between actors within the city. Extended expert group consultations were organised for the construction of the emissions inventory and the elaboration of the Action Plan afterwards.

In this connection, the Action Plan is considered as an instrument to favour an overall dynamic of consultation and information sharing between public and private subjects, as well as social and economic actors¹²⁵. These can be actors external to the municipal administration, who are willing to, or have already promoted actions for energy saving and production within the urban territory. Moreover, the implementation of the Action Plan is considered necessary to boost partnership arrangements between different operators (public and private) in the urban territory.

The TAPE as such is the resultant of a certain convergence between initiatives of various type that found coherence in the plan redacted on occasion of the city’s participation in the CoM. Veritably, the coordination between various departments within the municipal administration as well as between the city administration and other institutional and “semi-private” subjects involved in the overall programmes showed rather problematic. This is also due to practical drawbacks in collecting, organising and interpreting information as to energy consumptions and use. Thus, the elaboration of the TAPE represents a first, but significant attempt for establishing “dialogue channels”

¹²⁵ Interview to L. Savio. Polytechnic University of Turin, September 2011.

between subjects and administrative bodies otherwise detached one from the other within the same administrative compound. This will prospectively contribute to foster the technical training of staff within the communal administration, via processes of reflexivity and extended communication, and to elaborate specific methodologies for collecting information and for its use and diffusion¹²⁶.

A partial gap can be noticed between the guidelines and requirements proposed by the European Commission in this case and the factual reality characterising local administrations, where the integrated approach to policy development as well as the integration of administrative practices are often not fully in place. To this end, the process leading to the systematic elaboration of strategic plans – such as a SEAP in the context of the Covenant of Mayors – in various sectors and within different, but integrated, policy domains, is perceived as the real added value brought about by communitarian programmes of this kind. This is also a necessary capacity that the city needs to acquire to attain the sustainable and efficient development of the territory.

To conclude, the analysis of the Covenant of Mayors programme reveals two main insights, as far as it developed in the EU-wide arena and has been dealt with in the city of Turin. On one hand the role of the Commission, which acts as the *catalyser* and therefore the *sender* of a certain set of ideas for energy planning and development for urban territories. On the other hand it shows how cities – Turin in this case – mainly act as *receivers* and *developers* of these ideas and instruments on the basis of a common EU-platform for communication, dissemination of information and benchmark of best-practices.

¹²⁶ Interview to L. Savio. University “Politecnico” of Turin, September 2011.

EUROPEANIZATION VIA MODES of REGULATION

Waste Management and the case of the EU Packaging Waste Directive

7.1 Introduction

The increasing waste production in Europe, and thereby the necessity for establishing a system of efficient waste management and disposal, emerged as a priority theme for the European Union and its territories. Not only do EU measures in this policy area detail a specific classification of the waste structure and streams, moreover, they define certain fundamental obligations for the management, recycling, treatment as well as the disposal of products. Thus, the EU's Sixth Environmental Programme identifies waste prevention and management as one of the four top priorities, where the main objective is to decouple waste generation from economic activity, so as to eventually reduce the production of rubbish.

The complexity of the EU waste legislation and the specificity of the multiple instruments through which EU action deploys in this issue area, have often led territorial administrations in Member States to only partially comprehend the logic guiding EU provisions and to implementation problems. This implies considerable delays in the adoption of these measures within the domestic systems. In turn, this situation has at time fostered episodes of risk, both for the environment and for human health. The risks that recently hit some Italian cities and regions further testify the criticality of this policy area and the need for durable solutions both domestically and supranationally.

Thus, the management of waste in Europe has become a major challenge also for local authorities that are in charge of the collection, the recycling and the final disposal of waste. This takes place within a policy area where Member States have defined regulations to

implement the European legislation and where cities are confronted with a plethora of other administrative authorities and actors of different nature. The flourishing legislative production in this domain and the corresponding intensity of the EU policy action did not entirely translate into effective implementation domestically. In fact, the overly detailed nature of EU Environmental Action Plans, together with the specificity of the European directives and decisions, have sometimes hindered their full comprehension and implementation in several Member States that consequently postponed the complete adoption of these measures (CITTALIA, 2010).

Different types of regulations were necessary to face the problematic implications of the growing production of waste and to reduce the types of waste produced, as well as to endure a design of new products that would facilitate waste recovery afterwards. Nonetheless, these regulations did not always take the form of command and control instruments; instead they can include economic and fiscal instruments as well as industrial codes of conduct (Chalmers, 1994).

Hitherto, only few “command and control-like” measures have been adopted to address the excessive accrual of waste. In this connection, one of the most relevant attempts is represented by the enforcement of the Directive on Packaging and Packaging waste¹²⁷, officially published on 20 December 1994. The Directive required that, by 31 December 2001 – by weight – specific targets for packaging waste recovery have to be attained; additionally, within these general targets, there are other targets to be reached in terms of recycling of waste, with further specifications for each packaging material. The Directive is accompanied by a series of supporting measures to help achieve these goals. Exceptions are moreover envisaged for some Member States¹²⁸.

¹²⁷ Council Directive 94/62 EC, OJ 1994 L 365/10.

¹²⁸ Because of their specific situation, i.e. respectively the large number of small islands, the presence of rural and mountain areas and the current low level of packaging consumption, Greece, Ireland and Portugal, must aim to recover lower targets of packaging waste and meet the recycling targets by 31 December 2005.

For the purpose of our investigation it is important to highlight how, a policy of this kind, and above its overall success, does not merely rely upon the deployment of regulatory instruments, but also on “behavioural and attitudinal changes” (Chalmers, 1994: 277) that require the participation of a wide range of actors, including local authorities and private individuals. This implies the intensification of the relations between the Community – and the EU policy-making more generally – and these actors.

The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows. The next section shall give an introduction to the policy area of EU waste management by pointing out the structure of the EU waste legislation, its guiding principles as well as the main policy instruments promoted by the EU to attain its objectives in this sense. Section 3 narrates the relevant historical background underpinning the promotion of the EU Packaging Waste Directive and its partial integration into the renewed Waste Framework Directive¹²⁹. It also explains the elements that are likely to trigger change within the domestic systems considered. In the fourth section the theoretical and analytical frameworks presented in Part 1 are extended to examine the case of Turin as regards the Packaging Waste Directive and the waste management policy more broadly. In particular, analytical attention is devoted to the nature of strategic interactions developing during the time frame considered and that may favour the deployment of specific mechanisms of Europeanization and eventually transformation within specific domains of policy and politics in the urban system under analysis. Some preliminary considerations will be exposed in the conclusive section.

7.2 Waste Management Policy in the EU

The waste management strategy of the European Union finds its roots in the adoption of the 1975¹³⁰ Waste Management Directive. It sets – for the first time – important elements

¹²⁹ Directive 2008/98/EC on Waste and repealing certain Directives.

¹³⁰ Council Directive 75/442/EEC OJ L 194, 25.7.1975.

such as the waste hierarchy, the principles of proximity and self-sufficiency as well as indicates waste disposal modalities. Additionally, the Directive included the requirement of establishing waste management plans. Despite these innovations, the EU action in this early stage limited to encourage Member States to undertake appropriate steps towards the more effective prevention and recycling of waste¹³¹, without instead advancing any sort of prescriptive measure (Chalmers, 1994).

Following the energy crisis that hit Europe in the 1970s, the question of raw material supply became of paramount relevance in the Community, insomuch as economic reasons were brought forward for waste recovery. The duality of the waste issue, would then justify legislative intervention both for reasons of distortions in competition and for environmental purposes, thus opening up the question concerning the freedom of Member States action in this domain (ACR+, 2009). Furthermore, the 1973 Programme gave orientations aimed at establishing a waste inventory specific management plans and differentiated obligations according to the hazardous nature of waste¹³². Hence, the issues of resource conservation and waste management were more clearly addressed in the Second Environment Programme, where the European Commission introduced the watershed concept of tackling the waste issue according to a hierarchy of actions, namely *prevention, recover and hazard-free disposal*¹³³ as well as the idea of bridging the subject matters of “waste policy” and “clean products policy”, thus potentially enlarging the interest to the whole chain of production.

In the light of this waste “hierarchy”, where waste disposal in terms of discard and incineration are kept as last resort solutions, the role of local and regional authorities is decisive, not only operationally, but also for informational purposes towards the local populations.

¹³¹ Provisions in this sense were not mentioned in the First Action Programme on the Environment, OJ 1973 C 112/1.

¹³² Despite the adoption of a specific European regulation in 2002 (N. 2150/2002), the statistical system in this sense has not been fully harmonised and Member States retain freedom in terms of the modes adopted.

¹³³ The concept legal basis is established by Directive 91/156/EEC that amends Directive 75/442/EEC and it has been further refined in the new Waste Framework Directives 2006/12/EC and 2008/98/EC.

Emphasis was also put on the necessity to prevent the production of waste by favouring the use of *clean technologies*. This would have been possible through the dissemination of knowledge and by concluding industry-wide agreements for the progressive replacement of certain polluting techniques. Yet, the Programme further stressed the necessity to promote recycling by adopting different measures apt to support the secondary materials market. Waste management was *de facto* placed on the same ground as pollution control with the Third Action Programme where greater emphasis is attributed to the issues of waste recovery and prevention. It was only with the sixth Environment Programme in 2001 that the question of *resources* was addressed in a fully integrated way. It pointed out the unsustainable nature of resource consumption and by suggesting measures aimed to promote research and development for better use of resources, better corporate practices and the diffusion of better performing economic instruments. These ideas have been reiterated in the Thematic Strategy on the sustainable use of natural resources published in 2005¹³⁴. Benchmark objectives, including figures, were proposed with the 5th Environment Programme in 1992. These included a perspective reduction of dioxin emission by 90%, the stabilization of household waste production at 330 Kg per habitant per year and an indicative target of 50% recycling-reuse for paper, glass and plastic.

It was only in the late '80s that a debate developed around the possibility to establish binding objectives in terms of figures and precise targets. In particular, the need to review waste law in this sense clearly emerged with the fourth Action Programme in 1987 as part of the broader movement of the “Better Regulation”¹³⁵, a concept that would have informed the subsequent Environment Programmes. Reviewing the legal definition of waste to guarantee a more effective regulation and a more general redefinition of the regulatory texts relating to waste was deemed necessary for the simplification,

¹³⁴ Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions – Thematic Strategy on the Sustainable use of natural resources (SEC(2005) 1683).

¹³⁵ The concept of Better Regulation is based on the conclusions of the “Mandelkern” group in November 2001 (http://ec.europa.eu/governance/better_regulation/documents/mandelkern_report.pdf) and was made official for the purpose of promoting greater transparency in the adoption of legal rules (White Paper –COM 2001/428).

consolidation and clarification of the existing legislation already in 1994-1995. During this period in fact, an independent group of experts was created by the European Commission to elaborate innovative proposals in this connection¹³⁶. Nonetheless, only in 2005, the Commission announced that the promotion of innovative environmental policies – *thematic strategies*¹³⁷ – and in particular the thematic strategy on the prevention and recycling of waste¹³⁸ are informed by principles aimed at regulatory improvements¹³⁹. Apart from featuring a broad review agenda, the 2005 thematic strategy on waste prevention pointed out the guiding principle of considering waste not only as simple materials to be discarded, but more as a resource for energy recovery and to create new industrial opportunities and employability.

Since the adoption of the first EU Directive in this policy area back in 1975, waste management and disposal have been subjects of intense normative action in the EU policy-making. Today – due to the continuous technological development in this sector – they remain one of the priority fields in which the European Union promotes legislative measures. Nonetheless, more specialised legislative provisions had to be developed to turn the initial principles into operational targets.

Principles and structure of waste legislation

The main rationales underpinning the EU policy for waste management can be gathered from the two general Waste Strategies promoted by the European Commission, respectively in 1989, 1996¹⁴⁰ and the Thematic Strategies released in 2005 within the 6th

¹³⁶ Report of the Group of Independent Experts on legislative and administrative simplification. COM (95) 288 final/2, 21 June 1995.

¹³⁷ Thematic Strategies have been elaborated for six different issue areas within the environmental policy domain, namely: air pollution, the marine environment, the sustainable use of resources, the waste prevention and recycling, the sustainable use of Pesticides, soil protection, the urban environment.

¹³⁸ Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions “Taking sustainable use of resources forward: A Thematic Strategy on the prevention and recycling of waste”, COM (2005) 666.

¹³⁹ Commission Working Document, “Better Regulation and the Thematic Strategies for the Environment”, COM (2005) 466 final.

¹⁴⁰ The Community Strategy for Waste Management was adopted in 1989, see SEC (89) 934 final of 18 September 1989. The Strategy was reviewed in 1996, see COM (96) 399 final of 30.7.1996.

Environmental Action Plan¹⁴¹. In turn, the Strategies set out the guiding principles for the overall management of waste in the European Union.

Thus, in the 1989 Strategy, a first distinction was made between *disposal* and *recovery* of waste and further specifications were delineated concerning the “intra-Community movements” and “other movements” of waste products. In relation to this latter point, two main principles emerged in terms of *self-sufficiency*, due to which the amount of waste produced in the Union must be disposed within its territory, and *proximity* foreseeing the disposal of waste at the closest installation to the place of generation. In this connection, this first Communication pinpoints some major political orientations towards waste prevention, recovery through a series of voluntary measures, ensuring the security of waste transport, the optimisation of disposal as well as the endorsement of corrective actions for the recovery of contaminated sites (ACR +, 2009). The second Strategy issued in 1989 contributed to slightly modify some of the earlier provisions. In particular, the waste hierarchy is therein made more flexible by further distinguishing between material recovery and energy recovery, and more emphasis is placed on the responsibility of waste producers. Yet, reference was clearly made for improving the free circulation of waste within the territory of the Union.

The 2001 Green Paper on Integrated Product Policy¹⁴² further reinforced the tendency to consider the integrated nature of waste production and management, by promoting three main objectives to improve participation at all action levels. This should be attained by better adapting price mechanisms through the extension of the “polluter pays principle”, by promoting more environment-friendly consumption based on environmental labelling and new communication techniques, and by promoting more environment-

¹⁴¹ Regarding Waste, in particular the European Commission published the following Communications: Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, “Taking sustainable use of resources forward: A Thematic Strategy on the prevention and recycling of waste”, COM (2005) 666 final.

¹⁴² Green Paper on Integrated Product Policy, Brussels, 07.02.2001, COM(2001) 68 final.

friendly production via the diffusion of information and the dissemination of guidelines on eco-design¹⁴³.

Relevant for the gist of this research are the Thematic Strategy on prevention and the subsequent Thematic Strategy on recycling. Already in 1998, the Commission addressed the subject matter of recycling and the competitiveness of related industries in a Communication that took stock of the main initiatives to be developed towards improving the competitiveness of the recycling sector¹⁴⁴. Questions relating more explicitly to recycling were addressed by the 2003 Communication. In particular, the debate was therein centred on four main issues pertaining respectively to: the necessity to provision additional quantitative recycling objectives¹⁴⁵, the appropriate incentive to favour recycling actions, the further harmonisation of existing rules and the promotion of measures apt to promote forms of recycling that are both clean and “easy” (ACR+, 2009). Building on these general intents, the provisions in Thematic Strategy formulated in 2005 aimed to increase the compliance with the existing legislations, thus redefining the current legislative provisions, developing joint benchmark standards for recycling and, more importantly, promoting recycling actions through material-based objectives and via the exchange of information.

Some general principles dominate the EU policy for waste management; these originated from both the Treaties, the specific legislative acts adopted within this issue area, as well as from the case law of the Court of Justice. As such, their nature can be considered as both

¹⁴³ The Commission issued a further IPP Communication in 2003, which partially retracted the initial ambitions to “only” three main objectives corresponding to: a life Cycle Analyses guide, public purchasing “greening” measures, a discussion and negotiation process for certain priority products.

¹⁴⁴ Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions “The competitiveness of the recycling sector”, COM (1998) 463 final. In particular, the Communication envisaged initiatives to be undertaken in the field of standardisation, initiatives in favour of development and transparency of markets and in favour of innovation as well as the provision of new regulatory measures.

¹⁴⁵ In this case reference was made to the “Packaging” Directive 94/62, which already envisaged target objectives for waste collection and recycling.

legal and political, and their scope can be somehow generalised to the overall environmental policy of the EU¹⁴⁶.

In this connection, five main environmental principles can be detached in the terms of *prevention, precaution, polluter-pays, protection* and *correction*. Thus, the former – despite the partial ambiguity as to its actual domain of application (Scotford, 2007) – if applied to waste, envisages to targeting the disposal and reduction of waste at the very source of its production, by favouring the use of clean products and technologies; additionally, prevention is meant to apply both quantitatively (reduction of the total amount of waste produced) and qualitatively (reduction of danger)¹⁴⁷. The precautionary principle – in a similar vein of the prevention one – emphasises the necessity to intervene, whenever possible, to prevent the accrual of environmental problems. Of particular relevance is the polluter-pays principle, which originated within sectors of the OECD. When applied to waste, it constitutes a sort of hindrance to certain types of State aid. The principle is actually embedded in numerous directives and can be subsumed as a charge of the disposal costs to the holder or the producer of the product that generated the waste. High levels of environmental protection in the case of waste, translate into formulating more ambitious policy measures than those already in place domestically. The latter principle, correcting environmental damages at source as a matter of priority, applies in particular to waste movements and notably to its disposal, which ought to be carried out as closely as possible to the place of production¹⁴⁸.

Besides these five main principles, additional principles concerning waste management more in particular, can be recognised. *Effective, hazard-free management* – provisioned by the

¹⁴⁶ Some of the guiding principles of the EU Environment policy have been presented in chapter 5. A more extended presentation of the fundamental legal principles here briefly introduced, reference is made to ACR + (2009); Chalmers (1994) and Scotford (2007).

¹⁴⁷ The prevention principle, as it is illustrated in the following sections finds expression in both the “Packaging Waste Directive” (94/60) – in terms of “national programmes” for prevention – and the new Framework Directive (2008/98) – in terms of “prevention programmes”.

¹⁴⁸ This provision is also known as the “proximity principle”. In particular, the principle only applies to movements intended for waste disposal and not for recovery. Proximity is backed by the principle of self-sufficiency both at the level of the EU and within each of its Member States, meaning that the waste produced with the territory of the EU must be disposed within it, and ideally within each of the domestic territories.

first framework directive in 1975 – makes it mandatory to forward waste to a disposal or recovery service and calls for the “ecologically rational” management of waste (ACR+, 2009). The principle of *waste hierarchy* represents a sort of watershed concept in the domain of waste management, since it links many of the other principles at stake, in particular waste prevention and sustainable development. Hence, in its latest form, the principle sets an “order of priorities” in terms of prevention, preparation for reuse, recycling, energy recovery and finally disposal¹⁴⁹. Finally, the principle of *producer responsibility* obliges those who place products that generate waste on the market to be concerned about their management after-consumption.

The aforementioned principles find expression in the wide waste legislative package developed by the EU over the last thirty years. Considering the current structure of EU waste legislation, a three layers constitution stands out, where the already mentioned Thematic Strategy of Waste Prevention and Recycling¹⁵⁰ lays down the general orientation to be pursued by means of more detailed acts.

Thus, two main legislative instruments are at the bases of the framework legislation. The revised Waste Framework Directive issued in 2008, that sets the basic concepts and definitions related to waste management and lays down waste management principles such as the “polluter pays principle” or the “waste hierarchy”. Besides the general framework directive, the Waste Shipment regulation¹⁵¹ aims to introduce control waste shipment procedures and to ensure an environmentally sound management of the waste and the directive on Hazardous Waste¹⁵², which provides record keeping, monitoring and control obligations from the waste producer to the final disposal or recovery. Two main

¹⁴⁹ The waste hierarchy has been presented in this form with the new 2008 framework directive (2008/98/CE).

¹⁵⁰ COM (2005) 666 final.

¹⁵¹ 91/259/EEC.

¹⁵² 91/689/EEC, then amended by Directive 94/31/EC.

instruments regulate waste treatment operations. The Incineration directive¹⁵³, whose main aim is to prevent or to reduce as much as possible the negative effects on the environment caused by the incineration and co-incineration of waste. Directive 1999/31 disciplines landfill of waste. The main objective of the Directive is to prevent or reduce negative effects on the environment from the land filling of waste as much as possible, by introducing stringent technical requirements for waste and landfills.

Different waste streams are instead dealt with by a series of specific directives whose provisions have been in some instances embedded in the architecture of the Framework Directives. Thus, the Sewage Sludge directive 86/278/EEC seeks to encourage the use of sewage sludge in agriculture and to regulate its use in such a way as to prevent harmful effects on soil, vegetation, animals and man. The Batteries and Accumulator directive 2006/66/EC aims at minimizing the negative impacts of batteries and accumulators on the environment and also at harmonizing requirements for the smooth functioning of the internal markets. Packaging of waste management is regulated by directive 94/62 EC, which introduced a comprehensive legislation on this issue¹⁵⁴. Other waste streams include mining waste¹⁵⁵, end of life vehicles¹⁵⁶, electrical & electronic equipment¹⁵⁷, polychlorinated biphenyls and polychlorinated terphenyls¹⁵⁸ and restrictions on the use of hazardous substances in electrical and electronic equipment¹⁵⁹, each of which find expression in a specific directive¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵³ 2000/76/EC, It repealed former directives on the incineration of hazardous waste (Directive 94/67/EC) and household waste (Directives 89/369/EEC and 89/429/EEC) and replaced them with a single text.

¹⁵⁴ The EU first introduced measures on the management of packaging waste in the early 1980s. Directive 85/339/EEC covered the packaging of liquid beverage containers intended for human consumption only.

¹⁵⁵ Directive 2003/319/EC.

¹⁵⁶ Directive 2000/53/EC.

¹⁵⁷ Directive 2000/96/EC.

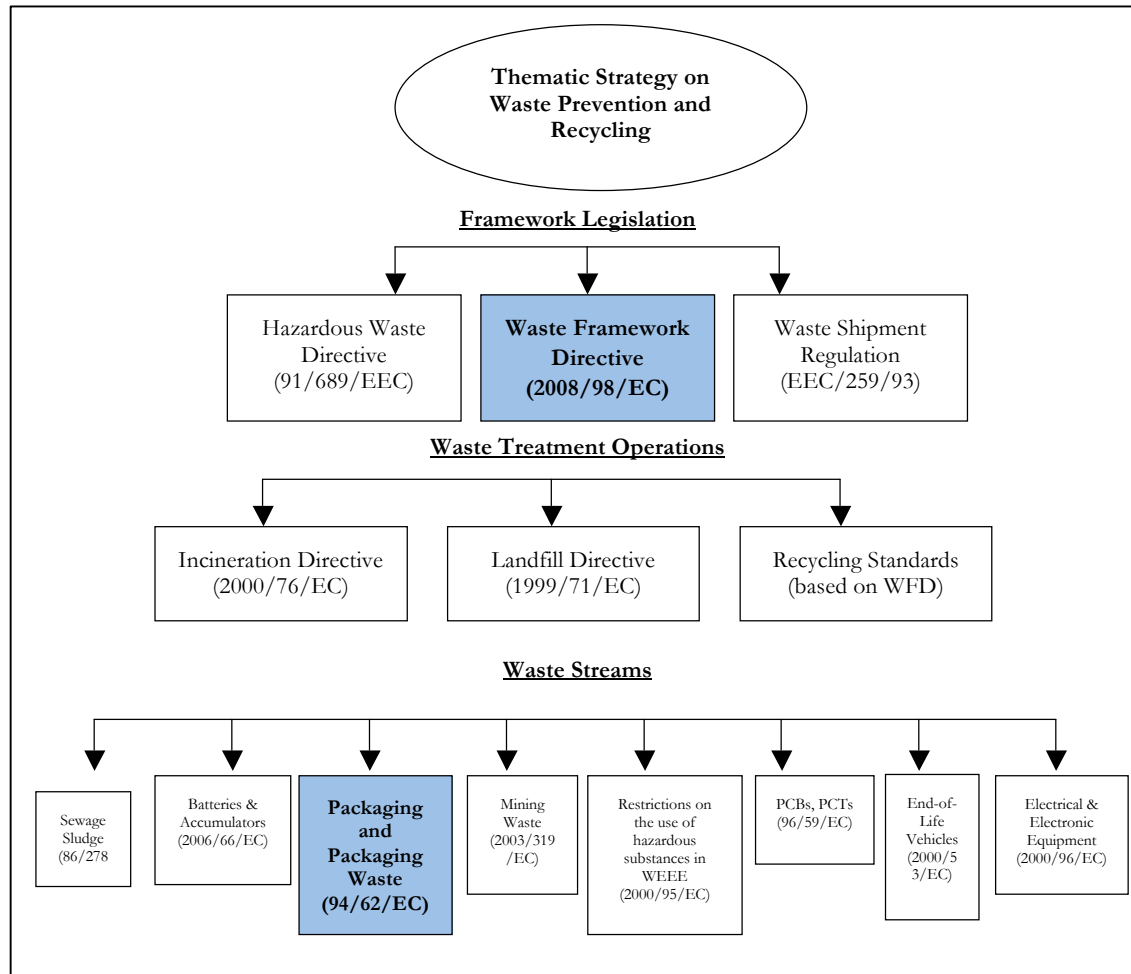
¹⁵⁸ Directive 96/59/EC.

¹⁵⁹ Directive 2002/95/EC.

¹⁶⁰ For a more comprehensive overview on the EU waste policy structure, including a description of each of the legislative measures referred above, reference is made to the European Commission website at:

<http://ec.europa.eu/environment/waste/index.htm>.

Figure 7.1 Structure of Waste Legislation



Source: personal elaboration

7.3 The Packaging and Packaging Waste directive

After nearly three years of negotiation, on 20 December 1994, the Council of Ministers adopted Directive 94/62/EC on Packaging and Packaging Waste (thereinafter PWD). The directive is considered to be the key to understanding the entire municipal waste management systems in the European Union (Haverland, 2000; Fischer, *et al.*, 2002). As the first major EU environmental piece of legislation under the Treaty of Maastricht (Golub, 1996; 2002), the PWD represents a suitable means for investigating questions concerning the interplay between, and the role of actors in various territorial systems towards the implementation of its provisions. The directive sets the harmonization of national measures concerning the management of packaging and packaging waste as its overall

objective, in order to prevent impacts on the environment and to secure the proper functioning of the internal market within the Community (Art. 1). The directive also establishes targets for the recovery and recycling of packaging waste within the Member States¹⁶¹.

As the previous section shows, the EU legislation for waste management and disposal is mainly regulated through specific directives whose provisions leave considerable room for manoeuvre to Member States as to the choice of instruments for their implementation. In this connection, the diffusion of multiple domestic-territorial strategies may imply that problematic implications arise. This is mainly due to lack of compliance with the EU targets, difficulties in carrying out comparative analysis of the distinctive elements of the multiple strategies put in place domestically as well as the absence of legal requirements for Member States to inform the European Commission as to the levels and composition of the recycling of municipal waste (CITTALIA, 2009).

A more comprehensive appreciation of the current discipline for the management of waste in Europe and within its territories may be acquired by drawing on the contents of the Waste Framework Directive – the most recent legislative document issued by the European Commission for the treatment and management of waste – and the requirements for waste management planning differently provisioned into the WFD and other directives¹⁶². A brief analysis of the content issues of the WFD, we assume, will facilitate the understanding of the Packaging and Packaging waste directive that constitutes the *proxy* instrument for the assessment of the *regulatory* mode of Europeanization.

Instruments for waste management. WFD and waste management plans

¹⁶¹ The term recovery denotes the collection of packaging waste for the purpose of recouping value, including composting, combustion with energy recovery, or recycling (OJ 1994, Art. 3).

¹⁶² The WFD 2006/12/EC on waste sets out general requirements for waste plans in Art. 7, while specific provisions are laid down with regard to hazardous waste in Art. 6 of Directive 92/698/EC and to packaging waste in Art. 6 of Directive 94/62/EC.

The original waste management directive adopted in 1975 underwent a series of significant amendments, especially during the '90s to be afterwards replaced by a “codification” framework directive in 2006¹⁶³. In turn, this latter directive was partially repealed with the entry into force of the last framework directive 2008/16/EC that had to be transposed by December 2010. Both of these documents reaffirm general principles such as the obligation of environmental and health sound waste treatment. Additionally the new framework directives further specify the notions of waste collection, treatment, recycling and disposal of waste as well as including a more stringent definition of the obligations and responsibilities for a correct management of waste streams; the new provisions follow the waste hierarchy indicated by the European Strategy that privileges prevention, re-use and recycling over simple disposal of waste.

As such, the waste framework directive is the cornerstone of the EU waste policy architecture, whose overall objective is “the protection of human health and the environment against the harmful effects caused by the collection, transport treatment, storage and tipping of waste”¹⁶⁴. Despite the innovations brought about with the 2008 document, the directive features three main functions, common to both its latest versions.

As suggested by Scotford (2007), the directive acts as a *framework* for EC waste legislation by setting a comprehensive agenda for EC waste regulation. According to a *policy-directing* function, a waste hierarchy is indicated and Member States are invited to adopt appropriate measures to respect its objectives. Thirdly, the establishment of a system for the supervision and control of waste within the EU fulfils a regulatory intent, whereby principles and rules discipline the regulation of waste and its treatment (Scotford, 2007).

In this connection, some main innovations introduced with the latest version of the Framework Directive can be worth mentioning before we outline the content issues of the directive 94/62/EC, since they consolidate or extend what initially provisioned in the

¹⁶³ The major amendments were included in the directive 91/56/EEC, whereas the directive 2006/12/EC represents, *de facto*, the first codified Waste Framework Directive.

¹⁶⁴ Second recital of the 2006/12/EC, WFD.

directive on packaging. As to the *scope*, the new framework directive excludes from its provisions certain substances that remain nonetheless encompassed by the definition of waste¹⁶⁵, in which waste is defined as “any substance or object which the holder discards or intends or is required to discard” (Art. 3, point 1). The directive also introduces assumptions concerning the distinction between waste and by-products as well as specifications relating to the end of waste quality after recovery operations. Most relevant is the provision for a five-levels waste hierarchy in terms of prevention, preparation for re-use, recycling, other recovery (including energy recovery) and disposal. In particular, Member States have to consider this newly framed hierarchy when endorsing domestic legislation and policies for waste prevention and management, although, in this case some major exemptions are also provisioned for specific waste streams¹⁶⁶. Member States are asked to draw up waste prevention programmes no later than December 2013 (Art. 29) by taking appropriate measures to promote the re-use of products and activities (Art. 11)¹⁶⁷. In this sense, the directive also sets quantitative objectives for certain specific streams as far as specific waste streams are concerned¹⁶⁸. The new directive further specifies some conditions under which the operations carried out by incineration installation – mainly processing solid municipal waste – ought to be qualified as recovery operations, with specific regard to the production of energy. Some new requirements are also formulated

¹⁶⁵ In particular article 2 of the directive establishes a distinction between substances falling outside of its scope unconditionally, those which fall outside its scope provided that they are covered by other European legislation, and lastly those that fall outside its scope subject to certain conditions relating mainly to the way they are managed (ACR+, 2009: 76).

¹⁶⁶ According to recital 31 “The waste hierarchy generally lays down a priority order of what constitutes the best overall environmental option in waste legislation and policy, while departing from such hierarchy may be necessary for specific waste streams when justified for reasons of, *inter alia*, technical feasibility, economic viability and environmental protection”.

¹⁶⁷ Differently for the directive 2006/12/EC, the latest framework directive separately defines the two concepts of recovery and disposal. In particular, European law subjects recovery to an authorisation and inspection regime that is less strict than the one for disposal purposes.

¹⁶⁸ Art. 11 (2) imposes that “...by 2020 the preparing for re-use and recycling of waste materials...shall be increased by a minimum of 50% by weight”, without nonetheless specifying whether the imposed percentage objective applies only overall or instead also to the flows set.

for the management of specific streams such as hazardous waste, waste oil, and bio-waste¹⁶⁹.

Relevant for this study, is the explicit formulation of the obligation to draw up waste prevention programmes and waste management plans. Prevention programmes must be drawn up – no later than five years after the directive comes into force (Art. 29, 1) – so as to breaking the link between economic growth and the environmental impact associated with the generation of waste¹⁷⁰. These can be integrated into waste management plans that must be drawn up with the aim of covering the entire territory of the Member States concerned; they contain the type, quantity and source of waste, existing collection systems and location criteria¹⁷¹. In particular, the plans must contain an analysis of the current situation in terms of waste management of the geographical entity in question, determine the measures to be undertaken for waste preparation, and provide an assessment of how the plan will support the implementation of the provisions. Plans have also to include a specific chapter on the management of packaging and packaging waste, including the measures taken in terms of prevention and reuse (Art. 28.5). Such provisions, as formulated in the WFD, leave a substantial margin of manoeuvre to the competent authorities when it comes to implementing their details.

Implementing the EU Packaging Waste Directive

The disposal of tonnes of packaging waste produced each year and the already existing “waste mountains” (Golub, 2002) has confronted EU Member States with increasing environmental and economic problems. In this connection, voluntary and compulsory agreements with industry have been introduced in EU Member States to try and reduce the

¹⁶⁹ The new directive repeals Council Directive 91/689/EEC, whilst integrating at the same time most of its provisions. The directive also repeals Council Directive 75/439/EEC concerning the disposal of waste oil

¹⁷⁰ Prevention programmes must set objectives in terms of waste prevention, describe the existing prevention measures, assess the usefulness of the measures provided as well as set qualitative and quantitative reference points (Art. 29).

¹⁷¹ In particular, as recalled in Art. 28, the plans must be drawn in accordance with the purpose of the directive, the waste hierarchy, the provision relating to protecting human health and the environment, and the principles of self-sufficiency and proximity. They must also comply with the requirements relating to the national strategy for the implementation of a reduction in biodegradable waste placed in landfill.

production of packaging waste by at the same time favouring processes of reuse and recycling. Hence, particularly ambitious programmes were implemented during the 1980s and 1990s in Denmark, Germany and The Netherlands¹⁷², although Member States continued to highly differ as regards their packaging policies and regulatory styles (Bailey, 1999, 2003; Haverland, 2000).

However, before eventually reusing or recycling waste, methods for waste “recover” must be put in place so as to collect and separate various materials from the general waste stream. These procedures are not exempt from problematic implications, especially when it comes to waste disposal. Thus, on one hand restrictions imposed on land-filling, incineration and recycling of domestic waste in some Member States constituted a hindrance for those Countries relying more heavily on exporting used packaging, on the other hand, the restriction imposed on waste imports opened up questions about the free movement of goods in the Community. Against the background of this apparent contradiction, and to reduce the environmental risks implicated in the production of packaging waste in the EU, the Commission began to consider the introduction of preventing and harmonising measures (Golub, 1996; 2002). The Commission proposal on ‘packaging and packaging waste’ – under Art. 100 of the Treaty – and the successive adoption of a directive in 1994, represented a formal step in this direction (Bailey, 1999; Fischer, *et al.*, 2002).

Hence, in the aim of preventing green protectionism from hindering the free movement of packaging waste in the Community, the proposal initially advanced by the European Commission contained far reaching targets¹⁷³, which substantially exceeded the plans already in place in many Member States. Their full respect would have implied considerable pressures for adaptation on the majority of national systems. Although

¹⁷² For an extended overview of different national strategies for waste management and recycling policies, including examples from extra-European States as well as statistical overviews, reference is made to Chalmin, P. and Gaillochet, C. (2009) *From Waste to Resources: World Waste Survey 2009*, Paris: Economica.

¹⁷³ The original proposal provided for three major elements: 150kg/yr of packaging waste to be achieved in ten years, a minimum “recovery” rate of 60% for all packaging within 5 years, rising to 90% after ten years, the inclusion of a hierarchy of goals in terms of prevention, reuse, recycling, incineration with energy recovery, incineration without energy recovery, landfill.

supported by the more “green States” (Germany, The Netherlands and Denmark), the proposal was opposed by several Member States and industrial groups that claimed for more flexible targets and a comparatively low level of environmental protection. The Parliament’s second reading substantially mirrored most of what was conveyed in the Council’s position, thus endorsing a set of lower standards; exceptions were nonetheless granted for those “greener” Member States willing to maintain – rather introduce – more ambitious measures (Golub, 2002; Haverland, 1999).

Objectives and targets of the Packaging Waste Directive

The PWD lays down measures aimed at preventing the production of packaging waste as well as reusing and recycling packaging so as to reduce the final disposal of waste (Art. 1) and its provisions cover all packaging placed on the market in the Community and all packaging waste, regardless of the material used (Art. 2). Thus, the directive sets a series of targets for recovery¹⁷⁴ and recycling to attain in the whole of the EU territory. In particular (Art. 6):

- By 2001, Member States must recover between 50% as a minimum and 65% as a maximum of the packaging waste produced within its markets or imported;
- Between 25% and 45% (by weight) of the totality of packaging materials must be recycled, with a minimum of 15% by weight for each packaging material;

The directive also foresaw the progressive refinement of targets for recovery and recycling every five years from the date of its entry into force in national systems¹⁷⁵. Therefore, the directive requires the recovery and recycling of packaging waste in accordance with these targets; additionally, the reduction and reuse of packaging are objectives of the directive, although without the specification of definitive targets. Another set of standard limits is

¹⁷⁴The term recovery denotes the collection of packaging waste for the purpose of recouping value, including composting, combustion with energy recovery, or recycling (OJ1994, Art. 3).

¹⁷⁵In this connection, directive 2008/50 (waste framework directive) states that, by 2020 preparing for re-use and recycling waste materials (packaging) shall be increased to a minimum overall 50% by weight and the preparation for re-use, recycling and other material recovery shall be increased to a minimum of 70% by weight (Art. 11).

instead fixed as to the concentration of heavy metals in packaging (Art. 11). In line with the original purposes that led the Commission towards proposing a directive containing measures to solve the apparent trade-off between environmental protectionism and free movement of goods, the directive also prohibits Member States from impeding any packaging, which satisfies the provisions of the Directive being placed on their markets (Art. 18).

In confirmation of the conflict between Member States during the negotiation phase (Golub, 1996), the directive contains a series of derogations to accommodate the specific situation of certain domestic systems. Thus, more relaxed measures and targets are provisioned for those Member States¹⁷⁶ with particular territorial morphology and low levels of packaging consumptions, whereas, nation-States willing to exceed the directive's targets are also permitted to do so. The directive also allows Member States to introduce economic instruments in their packaging recovery systems, under the condition that this does not hinder the free trade within the Union (Art. 15). Finally, the directive – as successively reiterated in the new waste framework directive – calls for the establishment of national databases on packaging and packaging waste flows (Art.12), the diffusion of information to users of packaging (Art. 13) and the inclusion of a specific chapter on packaging and packaging waste in management plans.

Table 7.1 Timeframe for EU “waste policy”

| DATE | ACTION |
|----------------------|---|
| December 1994 | Directive 94/62 entered into force © |
| December 1995 | Finalisation of the abbreviation system for packaging |
| June 1996 | Implementation in National law© |
| December 1997 | Meeting the requirements for marketed packaging |
| June 2001 | Meeting the recovery and recycling targets © |
| December 2005 | Greece, Ireland and Portugal must meet the targets |

¹⁷⁶ Art. 6 states: “Greece, Ireland and Portugal may, because of their specific situation, i. e. respectively the large number of small islands, the presence of rural and mountain areas and the current low level of packaging consumption, decide to:(a) attain, no later than five years from the date of implementation of this Directive, lower targets than those fixed in paragraph 1 (a) and (b), but shall at least attain 25 % for recovery;(b) postpone at the same time the attainment of the targets in paragraph 1 (a) and (b) to a later deadline which, however, shall not exceed 31 December 2005”.

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| April 2006 | Directive 2006/12/EC (WFD) entered into force © |
| November 2008 | Directive 2008/98/EC (WFD) entered into force © |
| December 2014 | Re-examination of the measures and the targets |
| 2015 | Separate collection shall be set up for paper, metal, plastic and glass (Art. 11(1) WFD) |
| 2020 | Meeting the targets for preparing for re-use and recycling (Art. 11(2) WFD) |

Source: personal elaboration

7.4 Exploring the mode: waste management in the city of Turin

The legislative set presented – waste framework directive and packaging waste directive – does not directly address cities and municipal authorities; it does nonetheless deal with two aspects that bear a strong relevance for the territorial units. These are the prevision of economic instruments as well as a better participation of citizens. Member States are in fact asked to foster the participation of the interested parts (waste producers), of local authorities and of the general public in the elaboration of management plans and prevention programmes (Art. 31).

Although local authorities, and cities in particular, have indeed little influence on the negotiation of waste legislation at the European level¹⁷⁷, the progressive elaboration at the EU level of measures for promoting and eventually improving the selective collection of waste represents the main – and commonly recognisable – feature of potential EU influence on cities within this policy area. In this connection, the Packaging and Packaging Waste Directive (94/62/CE) not only stands out as an early EU legislative instrument for the regulation of waste management, but it contains above all provisions whose attainment and correct implementation is of main concern for urban authorities in Europe. It can be considered as the key to understand the entire municipal waste management system in Europe (Buclet, 2002: 3) and, we argue, one of the EU instruments leading to the Europeanization of cities within this specific policy domain.

¹⁷⁷ In this respect, pan-European city networks like EUROCITIES and CEMR may forward some common standing points at the level of the European Commission, whereas “issue networks” like *Energy Cities* and *ACR+* do not necessarily exercise lobbying activities. Their action is instead very much based on diffusing information, benchmarking and favouring processes of mutual learning between the cities involved (excerpt from interview with J.P. Hannequart – Bruxelles, January 2011).

The set of interactions developing upon the provisions of these directives – and around the set of instruments domestically elaborated for their transpositions and eventual implementation – as well as the concrete policy initiatives undertaken within the territories considered for the analysis, allow, we argue, to consider the social mechanisms structuring such interactions.

The following sections will respectively make sense of how EU instruments – PWD and more generally the WFD in this case – have been transposed and domestically addressed (within both national and local administrations) and of how they have been reacted to and “used” in the city of Turin.

By taking into account the contents of previous sections of this chapter, as well as what indicated in Part I – in particular the possible mechanisms for Europeanization and the different components of the dependent variable (actors, instruments, procedures and paradigms/cognition) – in this section we deal more specifically with the series of actions undertaken in the city of Turin for the management of waste (waste collection and recycling in particular), thus tackling step 2 of our research strategy (as outlined in Ch. 4).

Legislative context and waste management in Italy

Together with other Mediterranean Countries, Italy is often considered as a laggard in the process of policy promotion at the EU level, or labelled as a “fence-sitter” with specific reference to environmental policies (Börzel, 2002), thus occupying an intermediate position in terms of domestic environmental regulation. The Italian Constitution includes – Art. 9 – environmental protection as one of its fundamental principles; nonetheless, the effective implementation of the environmental instruments and policy measures remains problematic¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁸ Recent emergencies arisen out of the inefficient system for waste collection and disposal in some Regions further testify these aspects.

Therefore, environmental legislation figured as an ensemble of fragmented and contingent measures, thus making Italy a “net exporter of pollution” (CITTALIA, 2009)¹⁷⁹; however, this is a tendency that has been partly counterbalanced by the activism of certain Regions and notably some local administrations¹⁸⁰. Part V of the Constitutional chart, as partially amended in 2001¹⁸¹, lies down a strict division of competences between State, regions, provinces and municipalities, thus leaving the central administration exclusive competence to legislate in environmental matters (amongst others). Furthermore, the definition of environmental norms and instruments in the Italian system (at least until recently) mainly originates from EU legislative initiative. The transposition of EU measures into the Italian law has generally followed the emergency procedure, or instead the delegation of authority to the Government (*decreto legislativo*), thus avoiding the ordinary validation procedure which involves the State and the Regions (Chalmin and Gaillochet, 2009).

Table 7.2 Legislative “waste” timeframe in Italy

| DATE | ACTION |
|------|---|
| 1982 | Waste Law |
| 1982 | Order n. 915 transposing European directives 75/442, 76/403 and 78/319 concerning waste management © |
| 1988 | Law n. 475 concerning the disposal of industrial waste |
| 1992 | Order n. transposing European directives 75/439 and 87/101 |
| 1993 | Law n. 340 relating to ratification of the 1989 Basel Convention concerning trans-boundary transfer of hazardous waste |
| 1994 | Law n. 70 concerning simplification of waste declaration procedures |
| 1995 | Law n. 349 concerning the landfill site fee |
| 1996 | Law n. 575 concerning the recycling of waste © |
| 1997 | Order transposing waste framework directive 75/442/CEE © |
| 1997 | Order n. 22 (Decreto “Ronchi”) transposing European Directives 91/156, 91/68 and 94/62 © |
| 1999 | Order n. 79 introducing an incentive system for the production of green energy via a “Green certificate” market mechanism |
| 1999 | Order n. 209 transposing directive 96/59 |

¹⁷⁹ Industrial clustering, the diffused utilisation of private vehicles, problems linked to waste management and the high density of the population in some areas are factors that contribute to accrue these phenomena.

¹⁸⁰ Regional performances in this sense depend very much on the regional legislation governing waste management as well as on the capacity of each regional administration to find the appropriate instruments for the attainments of the fixed objectives. Amongst the relevant factors is the “power” of the Mayors, the presence of constraints (*vincoli*) in waste collection and the virtuous management of the waste chain (Interview at the Permanent Representation of Italy to the EU – Brussels, November 2010).

¹⁸¹ Title V of the constitution was modified through constitutional law no. 3, 18 October 2001.

| | |
|------|---|
| 2001 | Law n. 93 concerning authorisation EMAS (eco-management and audit scheme) procedures |
| 2001 | Law n. 108 concerning ratification of the 1998 Aarhus Convention on access to environmental information |
| 2001 | Finance law creating a sustainable development fund |
| 2002 | Law n. 178 modifying the definition of waste |
| 2003 | Order n. 36 transposing European directive 99/31 © |
| 2003 | Order n. 203 in application of law n. 448/01 providing for 30% procurement of recycled materials by the public sector and public enterprises, with the aim of creating a market for recycled materials © |
| 2006 | Statutory order n. 152 of 3 April 2006 on environmental regulation © |
| 2008 | Statutory order n. 4 of 16 January 2008 amending the statutory order of 2006 © |
| 2010 | Order n. 205 transposing waste framework directive 2008/98 © |

Source: adapted from Chalmin and Gaillochet (2009)

Relevant for our purposes are in particular the “Ronchi” order (n. 22/97) that transposed the packaging and packaging waste directive and the measures introduced through order n. 36/03 on landfilling of waste. This fixed values for volume reduction applicable to landfilling of the organic fraction of waste, and introduced measures to encourage the selective collection of municipal waste under the responsibility of the municipalities, which are indicated as responsible for the management of municipal waste (with the exclusion of recovery and recycling). The enactment of order 203/03 was meant instead to improve the market conditions for recycled products by extending provisions to textiles, paper, wood and plastic waste streams. Part IV of the 2006 order n. 152 recognised the EU principles of precaution, prevention and producer responsibility as well as the “polluters pay” principle. In particular, the decree specified the division of competences for waste management and acknowledged the waste hierarchy as defined in the EU framework directive¹⁸². However, the central administration keeps control over the definition of general criteria and of the initiatives apt to pursue the prefixed objectives.

In turn, regions, provinces and municipalities maintain competences in the definition and implementation of the necessary actions for the management and disposal of waste. In this connection, amongst the competences recognised to the regional authorities (Art.

¹⁸² Competent authorities at different territorial level should therefore act in order to favour prevention and reductions of waste production, as well as favouring the reduction of final disposal through re-use, recycling and other forms.

196)¹⁸³ there are regulation of activities for waste management – notably for the definition of the optimal territorial areas (ATO) and the promotion of integrated management of waste – as well as the adoption of the regional plans for waste management (Art.199). Provinces are instead in charge of the administrative functions for programming and organising the recovery and disposal of waste within the provincial territory. Municipalities can concur in disciplining the management of municipal waste (Art. 198) through the adoption of *ad hoc* measures (*regolamenti*)¹⁸⁴ and are expected to disseminate the necessary information concerning urban waste management to the provincial and regional authorities.

As defined in order n. 152, the system for waste management is organised on the bases of optimal territorial areas (Ambiti Territoriali Ottimali – ATO) (Art. 200) that need to satisfy some defining criteria¹⁸⁵. Hence, territorial waste management is defined in the regional plans that need to assure the implementation of measures for the reduction of waste production within the territories concerned as well as paying due attention to the identification of the appropriate sites for the construction of the disposal plants. Moreover, Regions are expected to promote a series of initiatives aimed at reducing waste production and favouring re-use and recycling through the involvement of the public opinion and citizens (Art. 1999). Provisions as laid down in the order 2006/252 were only tangentially modified by order n. 4 enacted in January 2008. Besides regulatory instruments, some economic instruments have also been promoted. These include the Sustainable Development Fund created in 2001, a series of tax waivers for enterprises producing bio-diesel and bio-ethanol and a regional tax for open cast sites.

¹⁸³ Additionally, Regions are in charge of regulating the selective collection of municipal hazardous waste, the approval of projects for new waste management plants, authorising the various operations for waste disposal, and recycling as well as the delimitation of the optimal territorial areas for the municipal waste management.

¹⁸⁴ Such measures are meant to assure hygienic safety during all phases of waste management, the modalities for the collection and transportation of urban waste, the appropriate management of the different waste streams and their recycling, including weighting and quality-assessment operation before the eventual disposal of waste.

¹⁸⁵ Amongst the criteria to be followed there is the pursuing of an integrated system for waste management, attaining a dimensionally efficient managerial system, an appropriate evaluation of the territorial capacity for transportation and communication, the full valorisation of the need of the municipalities present on the ATO perimeter and the careful evaluation of the existing conditions.

Furthermore, the extended responsibility of the producer and importer was introduced in Italy and applied to packaging waste to improve their treatment and recycling. In this connection, the “Ronchi” order instituted the eco-organisation CONAI¹⁸⁶ (Official Waste Packaging Recycling Association) to coordinate the action of a series of recovery consortia. CONAI signed an agreement with the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI) to improve urban waste collection according to which, virtuous municipalities receive financial assistance and support in the communication and awareness campaigns at the local level. The former tax on municipal waste (TARSU), has been instead replaced by a mixed payment system based on both operating/maintenance costs and quantity produced by household, thus any longer depending on the surface area of the household property¹⁸⁷ (Chalmin and Gaillochet, 2009).

Nonetheless, some recent changes that occurred in the legislative framework for the integrated management of waste, both domestically and at the level of the EU, are likely to partially modify the working modalities adopted thus far. In particular, the enactment of order n. 135 in 2009¹⁸⁸ for the progressive adaptation to the communitarian provisions in the field of services of general interest at the local level, foresees limits for public share in service societies, and above all public competitive tenders, so as to favour private interventions. Relevant for our topic in this case, is also the provision for dismantling the so-called “in house” authorities by the end of 2011. Furthermore, new dispositions were foreseen by the budget act for 2010¹⁸⁹ and order n. 2/2010 in terms of dismantling the functional consortia between local authorities in 2011 and the ultimate suppression of the existing territorial optimal areas (ATO). Future attribution of competences is loosely

¹⁸⁶ As of today CONAI is one of the biggest consortia of its kind in Europe with more that 1.400.000 affiliate enterprises. Additional information can be retrieved at: www.conai.org.

¹⁸⁷ Other tax-type instruments include the rates introduced for the reduction of waste production, a tax on incineration without energy recovery and above all the promotion of a market for “Green certificate” so as to favour the production of energy from renewable resources.

¹⁸⁸ These provisions feature in Art. 15 of the Order n. 135 (Decreto Ronchi) under the heading: adaptation to the communitarian discipline in the field of local economic public services.

¹⁸⁹ “Legge Finanziaria”, 23 December 2009, n. 191.

defined; nonetheless, regional authorities in respect of the principles of subsidiarity, differentiation and adequacy should decide competences¹⁹⁰.

This brief overview shows how the application of environmental laws and regulation in the waste management domain in Italy, not only has proceeded almost invariably as a response to corresponding European legislation, but it has mainly followed the “regulatory way”, in the form of governmental orders and laws. In the next section we make sense of the way the city of Turin, and in turn the main actors therein operating, have “encountered” the EU within this specific area, by addressing, implementing and eventually making use of the instruments initially promoted by the EU and thereafter transposed into the Italian system, thus revealing the main mechanisms for Europeanization. The PWD remains the yardstick for analysis.

The situation in Turin: logic of action

The frame legislation for the territorial organisation of waste management in the city of Turin – aimed to promote an integrated system of activities – is rooted in regional law n. 24/2000¹⁹¹, which makes provisions for the creation of a series of *territorial optimal areas* (ATO), generally corresponding to the provincial territory. In turn, the Province of Turin is in charge of issuing and implementing the provincial Plan for Waste Management. In compliance with the Regional framework legislation for waste management, the present Plan sets as overall objective for separate refuse waste collection at a percentage value of 52,1%, whereas the new Plan foresees an increase up to 55%, with a specific value for the city of Turin set at 52%¹⁹². Following the 2006 document, the new provincial plan for

¹⁹⁰ Order n. 2/2010 is normatively converted into law n. 42 of March 2010.

¹⁹¹ *Norme per la gestione dei rifiuti*, available at:

http://extranet.regione.piemonte.it/ambiente/rifiuti/dwd/normativa/norme_reg/lr_24_02_smi.pdf.

¹⁹² The current national legislation fixes an overall objective of 65% for selected waste collection. The objective seems rather unattainable, whereas the Province acts towards attaining a percentage target of 57% including 50% of effective recycling. This implies to improve the percentage of recyclable plastic collection, the amelioration of the existing recycling plants and in perspective the improvement of the part of waste to be redirected towards energy recovery plants.

waste management, under negotiation in 2010, sets objectives and interventions for the 2010-2020 period. Thus, the activities for the realisation and management of the technologic plants for the recycling and disposal of waste are organised within ATO-R¹⁹³, which includes a total of eight *basins* for the management of the structures aimed at waste collection, transport and the disposal of waste (basin services). The governing of activities for each of the basins and ATO are, in turn, carried out by the so-called *Consorzi obbligatori di bacino* (compulsory basin consortia) and *Associazioni d'ambito* (area associations), whereas *management societies*¹⁹⁴ are in charge of the operational management of the activities. In particular, basin consortium “18” corresponds both territorially and institutionally to the city of Turin and represents 40% of the provincial population (909.538 as of Dec. 2009) and covers an overall area of 130,5 km².

The consortium for the city of Turin is in charge of the procedures for waste disposal and of the agreement for the supply of service with AMIAT, a company mainly owned by the municipality, which is in charge of the actual management of the services for waste management¹⁹⁵. Thus, the Region, the Province and the City of Turin in synergy with AMIAT, regulate – although with different competences – waste management in the territory of Turin. Besides that, waste management is coordinated via ATO-R, the Optimal territorial Association, which was a “Consorzio dei Comuni” prior to 2002. Additional provisions for waste management within the city territory are outlined in the municipal

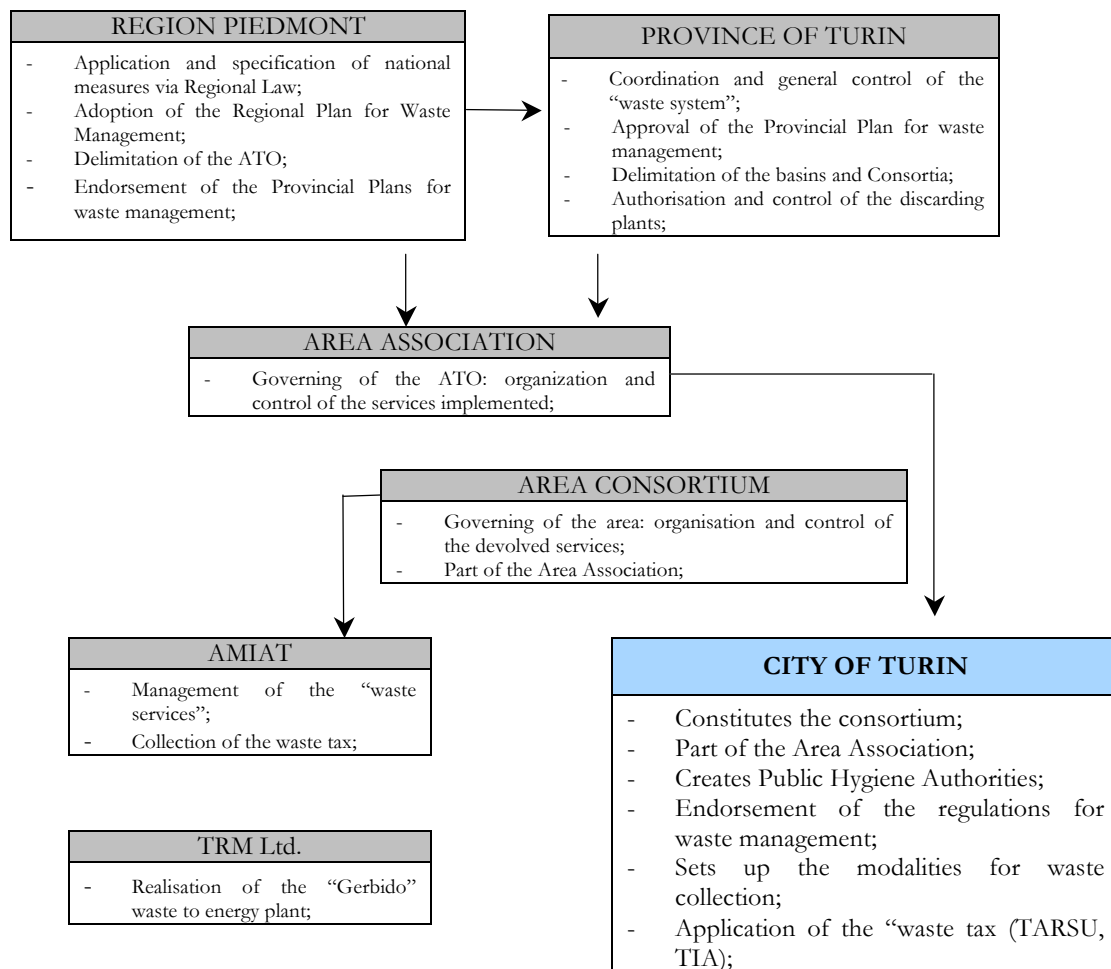
¹⁹³ *Associazione d'ambito Torinese per il governo dei rifiuti* was constituted in October 2005. ATO-R is in charge of accomplishing the so called “Piano d'Ambito” (Area Plan), in particular as to the parts of: waste streams (undifferentiated components); partial treatment of organic waste; organisation of waste disposal and distribution of the waste streams; Establishment of the disposal tariffs; allocation of the plants management; guarantee of the economic and financial equilibrium of the plants. ATO is basically in charge of the actuation of the Provincial Plan for waste management and as such it is a “private body” composed of an administrative Council and an Assembly, (www.atorifiutitorinese.it).

¹⁹⁴ These can be joint stock companies selected via competitive tenders, joint venture companies, where the private partner is selected via public tenders or instead entirely public companies (*in house*).

¹⁹⁵ The Turin Multi-services Company for Ambient Hygiene was a “special company” of the municipality of Turin till 1997, whereas in 2000 it was transformed into a joint stock company. Since 2010, the city of Turin has been the only partner of AMIAT Ltd. The relation between AMIAT at the city of Turin is regulated through the so called “contratto di servizio”, lasting about 15 years (to be renewed in 2011). Tasks to be accomplished annually by AMIAT are instead set in annual working plans. The main tasks AMIAT is in charge of are: waste collection, cleaning of containers, cleaning of the public soil, waste treatment and discharge. Despite being mainly owned by the city of Turin, AMIAT has got extra-city clients and thus also manages non-urban waste (www.amiat.it).

regulation n. 280/2002¹⁹⁶. In particular, with this regulation the municipal administration sets up the specific modalities for the collection of different urban waste streams and establishes the corresponding sanctions to be applied in case of infringement of the provisions. Thus, provisions are made for the prevention of waste production, waste recovery (re-use and recycling) and services for waste collection. Figure 7.2 exemplifies the organisational scheme for waste management in the case of Turin.

Figure 7.2 Waste Management in Turin



Source: personal elaboration

In this connection, the main referent for the city of Turin as regards the sector of waste management is the Provincial administration, even though the Regional administration is also part of the systems deputed to the management of this sector. On the other hand, the

¹⁹⁶ Municipal regulation n. 280/2002 endorsed via Municipal Council decision 12136/21 and entered into force from 24 June 2002 and subsequently modified through decision 11826/112 in April 2005.

municipal administration manages the actual collection and disposal of waste via the operative managements of AMIAT, which is also member of ACR+, the pan-European association of cities and regions for recycling and sustainable resource management¹⁹⁷. This allows for accessing important information in the sector, to follow up the legislative evolution and development in the domain as well as to benchmark practices for waste management¹⁹⁸. Beside AMIAT, the City of Turin is also the main shareholder of TRM Ltd.¹⁹⁹, the company in charge of realising the new waste to energy plant in the Gerbido area (Turin south) by 2013.

Within its residual competences, the city of Turin – through the action of the Department for Environment – has promoted a series of actions to enhance both public awareness and the actual capacity for separate refuse collection in the urban territory. Therefore, initiatives for improving waste disposal and recycling were launched in 2004 in the context of the Community programme URBAN II (see chapter 9) and recycling was promoted for all waste fractions and disseminated among 50% of the city population, starting from the peripheral areas to be then progressively extended to its inner boroughs. A “stand to stand” service for waste collection during open markets was promoted in 2005/2006 and experimental programmes addressed to specific commercial activities in the city and for the promotion of ecologic underground “collecting islands” are currently undertaken.

¹⁹⁷ ACR+ is an international network of members who share the common aim of promoting sustainable consumption of resources and management of waste through prevention at source, reuse and recycling (www.acrplus.org).

¹⁹⁸ Interview to Mr. Galparoli at AMIAT (Turin, November 2010).

¹⁹⁹ TRM Ltd. (Trattamento Rifiuti Metropolitani) received the *–in house–* concession for the planning, realisation and management of the “Gerbido” waste to energy plant in 2005 by the Province of Turin (www.trm.to.it).

Table 7.3 Timeframe for Turin

| DATE | ACTION |
|------------------|--|
| April 1995 | Regional Law n. 59 for Waste Management |
| 1997 | AMIAT becomes “special company” of the City of Turin |
| 1998 | First Provincial programme for waste management |
| 2000 | AMIAT is transformed into a joint stock company |
| June 2002 | City regulation n. 280 for municipal waste management © |
| October 2002 | Regional Law n. 24 for Waste Management |
| December 2002 | Creation of TRM for the completion of the “Gerbido” waste to energy plant |
| April 2005 | Decision n. 74269 for the revision of the Provincial programme for waste management |
| May 2005 | TRM receives the “in house” concession for the realisation of the “Gerbido” waste to energy plant by the Province of Turin |
| November 2006 | Decision n. 367482 constituting the Provincial plan for waste management |
| October 2010 | The City of Turin becomes the sole partner of AMIAT |
| 2013 | Completion of the “Gerbido” waste to energy plant by TRM |

Source: personal elaboration

Insights into the Europeanization of waste management

The financial shortages characterizing Italian local administrations – especially in a high fixed-costs sector like waste management – associated with some organizational drawbacks in the system of waste collection²⁰⁰, partly due to the specific infrastructural situation of the estates in Turin - will hinder the attainment of the overall targets for separate waste collection (50% by 2013) as set in the Provincial Plan²⁰¹. The recent endorsement of directive 2008/98 into the Italian system through order n. 205, in particular as to the parts concerning the collection and recycling of waste, has not translated into a clear set of plausibly attainable objectives and above all in the net distinction between the phases of collection and re-use/recycling.

The territorial organization of waste management is deemed, by some, to suffer from *loose coordination*, where the Provincial administration tends to mainly interact with the service company in charge of the management of waste (thus mainly with AMIAT).

²⁰⁰ The pathway towards a more efficient – target oriented – collection of municipal waste is additionally thwarted by the quality of separated rubbish as well as the problems of private differentiation of the plastic fractions (Interview to Mr. Galparoli, AMIAT – November 2010).

²⁰¹ Figures for the year 2009 were at around 42% for separate waste collection for the city of Turin according to the 2010 provincial report on the state of the system for waste management, available at: http://www.provincia.torino.it/ambiente/filestorage/download/rifiuti/pdf/rapporto_10/introduzione.pdf.

Nonetheless, the city of Turin remains national “leader” amongst urban areas as to the overall level of separate waste collection, with a percentage of 42% attained in 2010, and a plethora of actions – both legislative and operational – have been put in place during the period of time considered in the analysis.

Turning our attention to the transformations within the policy structures of the territorial system of Turin during the timeframe considered for the analysis of *regulation* as mode of Europeanization – where EU directive 1994/62 (2008/98) is the *proxy instrument* selected to exemplify this mode – it is possible to formulate some considerations on the prospective character of the Europeanization process.

The partial absence of a regulatory framework for waste management in the territory of Turin up until 2000, associated with an overall national situation where the majority of actions undertaken in the field of waste management (including packaging and packaging waste) are the consequence of legislative measures adopted by the EU since the mid-1990s, determine that also within the territorial system of Turin a prevalent bulk of instruments adopted were legislative in character²⁰², and followed – both temporally and in terms of their provisions – what was previously adopted since 1994 at the EU level. In this connection, amongst the monetary instruments promoted there is the TARSU tax, which was nonetheless already introduced in 1993 following national decree n.507/1993 and thereafter integrated locally via a mixed collecting system. Additionally, more “target oriented” policy instruments, in the form of pilot projects to boost the system of separate collection of waste or extended awareness campaigns have been promoted, often in synergy between the municipal administration, the competent departments of the Province and AMIAT.

²⁰² Regional Law n. 59 for Waste Management (1997), the first Provincial programme for waste management adopted in 1998, the city regulation n. 280 for municipal waste management and Regional law n. 24 for waste management (2002), are the main legislative measures adopted within the territory of Turin in the field of waste management. See table 7.3.

Although the city administration does not directly take part in pan-European networks for waste management, the territory is “represented” within the EU policy-making by the participation of AMIAT and the provincial administration in the ACR+ thematic association. Additionally, the analysis reveals that the number of local actors involved in the system of waste management within the territory of Turin has increased during the period of time considered. These are moreover institutional collective actors – competent departments of the municipal, provincial and regional administrations – other municipalities of the metropolitan area of Turin, but also private collective actors taking part in public-private partnerships for the management of the service (AMIAT), instead of for the realization of infrastructural plants (TRM Ltd.). Furthermore, also in this policy domain, the competences of the Mayor – thus also those of the municipal administration more generally – widened following the wave of reforms in 1993 and more importantly the reform of the constitutional chart’s fifth deed in 2001²⁰³.

Concerning the procedures that preside over policy making during its different phases as well as the policy styles eventually developing during the phase of program formulation and implementation, it is relevant to highlight the shift toward an integrated system for waste management. The original “sectorial character” of the operations for waste management has progressively been replaced by a system where integration is applied both in terms of the sectors affected by the policy measures adopted²⁰⁴ and the administrative bodies involved at the stage of policy programme formulation and implementation within the territory, as testified by the negotiation of the provincial waste plan. Despite following recommendations included in the national transposition acts of the corresponding European legislation, the integrated character of the structure for waste management clearly follows a trend initiated at the EU level, which recommends relevance to be given

²⁰³ Whether the 1993 reform led to the direct election of the Mayors and the provincial governors, the reform promoted in 2001 involved a more encompassing redistribution of the territorial competences and the partial redefinition of the relations between the central administration and local authorities.

²⁰⁴ One amongst other examples is the promotion of an experimental system for “door to door” waste collection within the environmental *volet* of the URBAN II community initiative for urban regeneration during the 2000-2006 period.

above all to prevention, recycling and re-use of waste. Furthermore, the system for the collection of information, data and statistics on the separate collection of waste and on waste streams is now also jointly managed by regional, provincial and municipal services.

Interviews with privileged actors²⁰⁵ at both the municipal and provincial departments dealing with waste management reveal how the main factor of change actually perceived is the significant increase in the percentage of collected waste, especially during the 2003-2010 period. Nonetheless, differentiated waste collection and recycling are now maintained as “acquired topics” within the territorial area of Turin. This translated into a greater consciousness of the local administrations and therefore in the increasing number of policy provisions adopted to improve the overall situation in this policy sector, and also into a different attitude of consumers towards the “waste problem”, which is now perceived more pro-actively, as testified by the relative success of the various projects promoted to improve the “door to door” system for waste collection. In this connection, the advent of the Olympic games in 2006 is also considered to have been conducive to greater awareness and then relative success within this policy domain.

²⁰⁵ Amongst the people interviewed in this case there are: Mr. Civera at City Hall of Turin (Department for Environment), Ing. Galparoli at AMIAT, and Mr. Gollo at the Province of Turin (Department for Environment).

EUROPEANIZATION VIA MODES of COORDINATION

Ambient Air Quality control and the case of EU Directive 1999/30

8.1 Introduction

The European Union has been particularly active in the air quality sector over the last three decades. Apart from acting to mitigate the adverse effects of climate change – mainly by adopting measures for the control of greenhouse gasses (Jordan, *et al.*, 2010) – a key objective of EU environmental legislation has been to improve the quality of ambient air, above all to limit the dangerous effects of polluted air on humans' health as well as the progressive eutrophication of the environment. Thus, measures in this sense have been adopted to control the emission of harmful substances in the atmosphere, improving the quality of fuels and by progressively integrating the requirements of environmental protection into the transport and energy sectors.

Despite significant progress in this direction has been made, and the emissions of certain substances reduced considerably, air pollution remains a source of concern, as limit values for certain pollutants – in particular ground-level ozone and fine particulates – are regularly exceeded (EEA, 2002; Baldasano *et al.*, 2002). In this connection, the European Commission calls for more action to be undertaken at various levels of regulation, both internationally and locally, where the damaging effects of air pollution loom largest. The inclusion of air pollution within the target area of environment and health of the sixth Environment Action Programme of the EU (European Commission, 2001a) is a first step in this direction.

In the field of EU clean-air policy, patterns of coordination within different systems of territoriality and during various phases of the policy process reflect the patchwork character of the EU action in this field. This is a process that has mainly proceeded

through successive steps of interest accommodation between the European legislator and the diverse regulatory traditions of Member States, where at times the regulatory style of one Member State features as the yardstick for modelling European measures afterwards (Héritier, 2002)²⁰⁶.

For the gist of our analysis, it is relevant to point out that EU regulation in the policy field of air quality has traditionally followed logics of standard setting based on persuasion, reasoning and evidence-based measures aiming at effectiveness in reaching the prescribed levels of environmental quality. Majone often referred to standard setting as a regulative problem in his early works (Majone, 1992; 1994)²⁰⁷. Thus, effluent (or emission) standards set the quantity of certain types of pollutants that are allowed from a particular source. In particular, Majone shows how the common notion of purely scientifically based standards presents in fact serious fallacies (Majone, 1975; 1984). He argues that “the popularity of standards is not due to their ‘scientific’ character but, on the contrary, to an intrinsic vagueness, hiding behind a specious appearance of precision, which offers strategic advantages to the regulated, both at the level of standard setting and in the process of implementation” (Majone, 1975: 8).

In this connection, we argue, considering the deployment of Directive 1999/30 – and its successive incorporation into the new “framework directive” for air quality – that set limit values for the concentration of certain substances and promotes common methods for evaluation and to gather information, well exemplifies those modes where mechanisms of coordination are thought to be prevalent and the perspective influence of the EU on domestic systems is likely to trigger processes of Europeanization within various arenas of policy in cities.

²⁰⁶ Similarly to the dynamics occurred in other fields within environmental policy (see ch.5 and 6), also in the case of EU policy for clean air some national traditions have been imposing over others. Hence, for instance, some directives clearly reflect the German tradition of technology-based emission control, whilst others are more aligned with the British model of ambient air regulation.

²⁰⁷ Distinction is made between different types of standards in environmental policy in terms of ambient (or environmental quality) standards, effluent (or emission) standards and technical standards.

The remainder of this chapter is organised as follows. The next section shall give an introduction to the EU air quality policy by pointing out the structure of the EU air legislation, its guiding principles as well as the main policy instruments deployed by the EU to attain its objectives in this domain. Section 3 narrates the relevant historical background underpinning the promotion of EU directive 1999/30 and its merge into the renewed “framework directive” in 2008. In the fourth section, the theoretical and analytical frameworks presented in Part 1 are extended to examine the case of Turin as regards the air quality policy.

8.2 Air quality policy in the EU

Particularly over the last two decades, developed Countries have paid increasing attention to air quality and to the adverse affects of polluted air on human health. Thus, various clean air plans have been adopted to introduce measures for the regulation of emissions, regular air quality monitoring in urban areas, and the promotion of less noxious fuels (Baldasano, *et al.*, 2002).

In this connection, the EU acts within various jurisdictions in the attempt to ease the adverse consequences of air pollution and promoted different instruments to pursue this objective. In particular, the EU Commission has oriented its action towards the development of an overall strategy for air quality control and prevention, wherein Member States are expected to transpose and implement a series of directives that set long-term objectives. Thus for instance, the launch of the CAFE²⁰⁸ programme in 2001 opened a new phase in the EU policy for air quality, which led to issuing a thematic strategy on air pollution setting objectives for the reduction of certain pollutants and reinforcing the legislative framework in this sector through the mainstream of air quality issues into related policy areas.

²⁰⁸ Clean Air for Europe Programme. Its aim was to establish a long-term, integrated strategy to tackle air pollution and to protect against its effects on human health and the environment, which substantiated in the Commission communication of 4 May 2001 “The Clean Air for Europe (CAFE) programme: towards a thematic strategy for air quality”.

Within this portrayal, not only urban areas are the places where the adverse effects of poor air quality conditions loom largest – mainly due to the use of road vehicles – but also the contexts where practical solutions are often put in place, monitoring and assessment of air quality are performed and where most information is collected to allow the overall evaluation of air quality trends, thus eventually facilitating the elaboration of most efficient solutions.

Principles and structure of air quality legislation

Standards and objectives are set through EU legislative measures for various pollutants. These are applied over diverse time spans, to account for different health impacts associated with the exposure to various pollutants. Table 8.1 summarises the existing air quality standards currently fixed by the EU.

Table 8.1 EU Air quality standards

| Pollutant | Concentration | Averaging period | Legal nature | Permitted surplus each year |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| Fine particles (PM _{2.5}) | 25 µg/m ³ | 1 year | Target value entered into force 1.1.2010 Limit value enters into force 1.1.2015 | n/a |
| Sulphur dioxide (SO ₂) | 350 µg/m ³ | 1 hour | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 | 24 |
| | 125 µg/m ³ | 24 hours | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 | 3 |
| Nitrogen dioxide (NO ₂) | 200 µg/m ³ | 1 hour | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2010 | 18 |
| | 40 µg/m ³ | 1 year | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2010 | n/a |
| PM ₁₀ | 50 µg/m ³ | 24 hours | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 | 35 |
| | 40 µg/m ³ | 1 year | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 | n/a |
| Lead (Pb) | 0.5 µg/m ³ | 1 year | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 (or 1.1.2010 in the immediate vicinity of specific, notified industrial sources; and a 1.0 µg/m ³ limit value applied from 1.1.2005 to 31.12.2009) | n/a |
| Carbon monoxide (CO) | 10 mg/m ³ | Maximum daily 8 hour mean | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2005 | n/a |
| Benzene | 5 µg/m ³ | 1 year | Limit value entered into force 1.1.2010 | n/a |
| Ozone | 120 µg/m ³ | Maximum daily 8 hour mean | Target value entered into force 1.1.2010 | 25 days averaged over 3 years |
| Arsenic (As) | 6 ng/m ³ | 1 year | Target value enters into force 31.12.2012 | n/a |
| Cadmium (Cd) | 5 ng/m ³ | 1 year | Target value enters into force 31.12.2012 | n/a |
| Nickel (Ni) | 20 ng/m ³ | 1 year | Target value enters into force 31.12.2012 | n/a |
| Polycyclic Aromatic Hydrocarbons | 1 ng/m ³ | 1 year | Target value enters into force 31.12.2012 | n/a |

Source: European Commission <http://ec.europa.eu/environment/air/quality/standards.htm>

Certain basic principles are at the foundation of EU air quality legislation; these are, in turn, recalled within the air quality directives, in particular in the parts dealing with implementation and management. Thus, the principle of *zoning* foresees the division of national territories in zones and agglomerations for the assessment of air pollution levels through measurements and other techniques. On the other hand, *assessment* implies the actual measurement of air quality and the evaluation of the compliance with the environmental standards fixed by the EU and domestically; *management* of air pollution is about the promotion of measures aimed at reducing the adverse effects of air pollution on human health. These can be undertaken at the EU level as well as integrated with national initiatives in air quality plans that outline their nature and methods for implementation. The principle of *information* – cornerstone in this field – requires providing a minimum amount of information to the public as to the assessment of concentrations, as well as the public availability of abatement plans and programs. Related to information, *reporting results* is thereafter required by the Commission to assess the compliance with the standards as set in the directives and to enable the public to have access to harmonised information on air quality.

In this connection, EU legislation on air quality has developed in an overall attempt to preserve levels of air quality sensitive to human health and the environment. Thus, in line with the provisions of Art. 174 TEC²⁰⁹, the relevant EU legislative action for the management and quality of ambient air applicable to all Member States can be summarised in the first air quality framework directive 96/62/EC²¹⁰, in the so called “daughter” directives²¹¹ 1999/30, 2000/69, 2002/03 and 2004/107 on limit values for different

²⁰⁹ In particular, according to Art. 174 the Community policy on the environment shall contribute to pursuit of the following objectives: preserving, protecting and improving the quality of the environment; protecting human health; prudent and rational utilisation of natural resources; promoting measures at international level to deal with regional or worldwide environmental problems.

²¹⁰ Council Directive 96/62/EC of 27 September 1996 on ambient air quality assessment and management.

²¹¹ Council Directive 1999/30/EC relating to limit values for sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and oxides of nitrogen, particulate matter and lead in ambient air; Directive 2000/69/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council relating to limit values for benzene and carbon monoxide in ambient air; Directive

pollutants, and the new air quality and cleaner air for Europe directive 2008/50/EC that proposes – within others – the progressive merging of the existing legislation.

The first “ambient air quality” framework directive of 1996 established the basic principles of a common strategy to define and set objectives for ambient air quality based on common methods and criteria for the assessment and diffusion of information on air quality. In particular, methods to monitor air quality within the territories of Member States were indicated in the directive, where assessment would have been compulsory in urban areas with more than 250000 inhabitants or in areas with concentration values close to the threshold limits. Furthermore, the directive brought about requirements for Member States to draw up a list of the areas and conurbations where pollution levels exceed the limit values and to provide information accordingly. Together with the “daughter directives” fixing limit values and long term objectives for specific pollutants, a series of implementing measures²¹² in the form of decision has been subsequently adopted to provide further guidance especially as to reporting and submission of information²¹³. European legislation has been revised by Directive 2008/50/EC, which established a new comprehensive framework for air quality control in Europe by progressively merging previously adopted measures.

A concrete attempt to establish an integrated strategy to tackle air pollution is represented by the Clean Air for Europe programme (CAFE), launched in 2001. Amongst the main objectives of CAFE there were the establishment of a system for developing,

2002/3/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council relating to ozone in ambient air; Directive 2004/107/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council relating to arsenic, cadmium, mercury, nickel and polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons in ambient air.

²¹² Decision 2004/461/EC laying down a questionnaire to be used for annual reporting on ambient air quality assessment under Council Directives 96/62/EC and 1999/30/EC and under Directives 2000/69/EC and 2002/3/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council; Decision 2004/279/EC concerning guidance for implementation of Directive 2002/3/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council relating to ozone in ambient air; Decision 2004/224/EC laying down arrangements for the submission of information on plans or programmes required under Council Directive 96/62/EC in relation to limit values for certain pollutants in ambient air.

²¹³ Council Decision 97/101/EC of 27 January 1997 establishing a reciprocal exchange of information and data from networks and individual stations measuring ambient air pollution within the Member States. In particular, the decision introduces a reciprocal exchange of information and data from the networks and stations set up in Member States and the air quality measurements taken by those stations.

collecting and validating scientific information on the effects of air pollution, the support to effective implementation of the existing legislation on air quality and the eventual development of new proposals to favour the appropriate observance of the requisite measures.

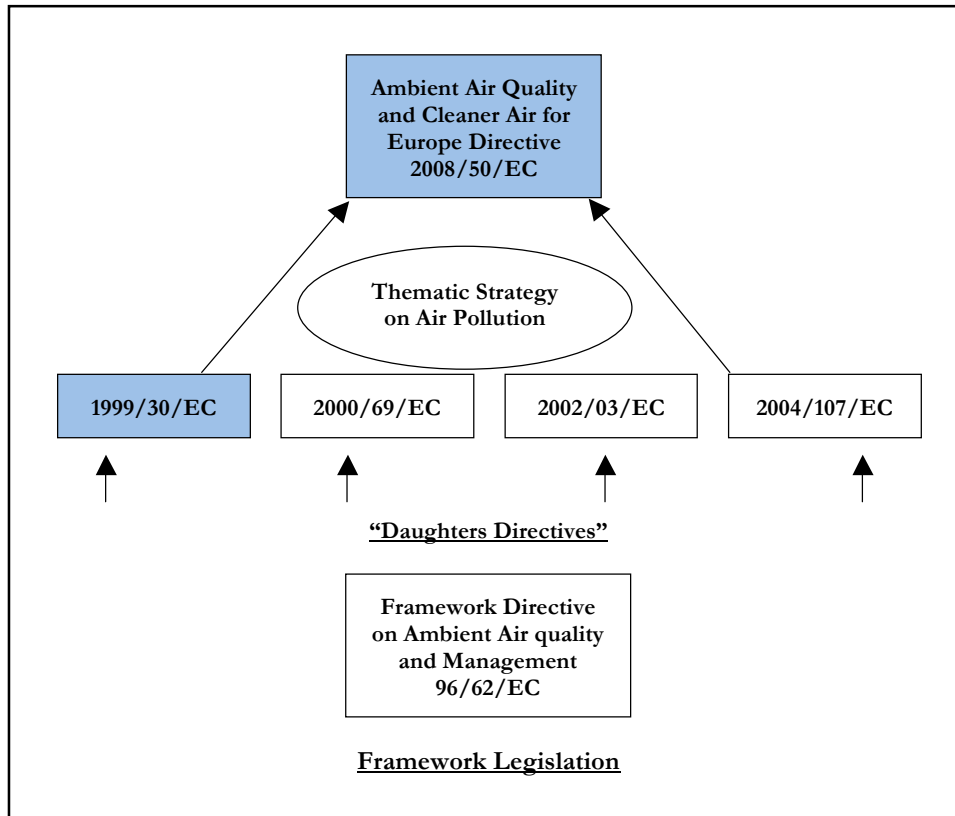
Furthermore, the programme aimed at developing new systems for the dissemination of information, meaning the information gathered during its development and also relating to air quality values that is collected in different EU countries. The main proposal issued in this context was, nonetheless, the development of an overall thematic strategy for air quality.

Therefore, the thematic strategy on air pollution²¹⁴ launched in 2005 (to be revised in 2010) sets objectives and limit values for the concentration of certain pollutants so as to avoid excessive damages on human health, thus proposing measures to achieve these objective by 2020²¹⁵. A further simplification of the existing legislation was also proposed, as it was the modernisation of the monitoring and measurement systems for ambient air quality. Relevant in this sense is also the declared intention to improve the coherence with other environmental policies, in particular with those bearing a direct impact on the emission of pollutants in the atmosphere – namely policies for energy use, transport policies regulating the use of cars and heavy-duty vehicles, industrial policies and agricultural policies concerning the use of animal feedings and fertilisers.

²¹⁴ Communication of 21 September 2005 from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament - Thematic Strategy on Air Pollution, COM (2005) 446.

²¹⁵ Main objectives were: 47% reduction in loss of life expectancy as a result of exposure to particulate matter; 10 % reduction in acute mortalities from exposure to ozone; reduction in excess acid deposition of 74% and 39% in forest areas and surface freshwater areas respectively; 43% reduction in areas or ecosystems exposed to eutrophication.

Figure 8.1 Structure of Ambient Air Quality Legislation



Source: personal elaboration

8.3 Implementing Directive 1999/30/EC (and “framework” Directive 2008/50)

As showed in the previous section, in the attempt to improve the quality of ambient air, the EU has acted mainly by setting standards for the concentration values of various pollutants, such as sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and oxide, particulate matters and leads, as well as establishing alert thresholds for the concentration of sulphur dioxide and nitrogen oxide in ambient air.

In this connection, the Council Directive 1999/30/EC represents the earliest EU – legislative – instrument to coordinate action towards the achievement of a better quality of ambient air. In particular, the “first daughter directive” contained limit values for concentration of sulphur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and oxide from nitrogen, particulate matter and lead²¹⁶. For each of these substances, the directive lays down upper and lower

²¹⁶ The limit values for the concentration of the pollutants addressed by directive 1999/30/EC are indicated in table 8.1.

assessment thresholds and asks Member States to draw up a list of zones and agglomerations within which the margin of tolerance for the limit values is exceeded²¹⁷. In turn, Member States must take action to ensure that an action plan that makes the achievement of the limit value possible is drawn up and implemented within the fixed deadlines.

As to particulate matters $PM_{2.5}$ and PM_{10} the directive foresees the installation – by Member States – of appropriate measuring stations to collect data on concentrations. Within nine months from the end of each year, Member States must inform the Commission on the assessed measurements. Furthermore, Member States are asked to assure the collection of *up to date* information on the pollutants concentrations and to make it available to the public, to appropriate bodies as well as to the European Commission for all the other pollutants.

The new air quality “framework directive” 2008/50/EC – that progressively repeals directive 96/62/EC and the four “daughter directives” – confirms the mechanism for air quality management and more specifically addresses some polluting substances that are particularly dangerous for human health.

In particular, the new directive sets out for the definition of objectives for ambient air quality designed to reduce harmful effects on human health and the environment, evaluating air quality according to common methods and standards, collecting information on ambient air quality so as to make this information available to the public, and maintaining air quality conditions or eventually improving them, through appropriate actions to be undertaken domestically.

Directive 2008/50 defines the concepts of limit values, target values, information threshold, alert threshold and critical level, thus fixing targets and threshold of evaluation

²¹⁷ The alert threshold levels set for the pollutants addressed in directive 1999/30/EC correspond to 500 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ measured over three consecutive hours at locations representative of air quality over at least 100 km^2 for sulphur dioxide and 400 $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ measured over three consecutive hours for nitrogen dioxide.

for the emission in the atmosphere of certain pollutant substances²¹⁸. In this connection, Member States shall designate the competent authorities for evaluating the quality of ambient air and ensuring the accurate measurement of pollution levels. Additionally, national administrations must put in place systems to guarantee the coordination of initiatives promoted by the EU to protect air quality as well establish zones and agglomerations for evaluation and reporting.

Therefore, specific methodologies and measurement criteria are set for each pollutant covered by the Directive and measuring stations must be set up territorially. As regards the management of air quality, the appropriate authorities must guarantee the maintenance of the *status quo* and eventually improvements where the levels lie under the limit value; otherwise they must implement air quality plans in order to achieve the limit or target values where the limits are exceeded. In particular, management plans must be organised according to the planned zones and agglomerations where the limit values are surpassed. Short-term action plans are instead foreseen wherever the risk of exceeding one or more alert thresholds is envisaged. These plans define the action to be undertaken to avoid the risk, in particular through the temporary interruption of the activities co-responsible for the risk or via measures for traffic suspension and the regulation of domestic heating.

Exemptions from the application of limit values for PM₁₀ are nonetheless granted to those Member States characterised by zone or agglomeration, where the limit value cannot be achieved because of specific adverse climatic conditions or cross-border circumstances.

Table 8.2 Timeframe EU policy for “air quality”

| DATE | ACTION |
|--------------|--|
| April 1999 | Directive 1999/30/EC entered into force © |
| July 2001 | Deadline for transposition into National Law © |
| January 2005 | Commission report (2004) 845 final |

²¹⁸ In particular, the protection of human health is framed in the concept of *information threshold*: a level beyond which there is a risk to human health from brief exposure for particularly sensitive sections of the population and for which immediate and appropriate information is necessary; *alert threshold*: a level beyond which there is a risk to human health from brief exposure for the population as a whole and for which immediate steps are to be taken by the Member States and *critical level*: a level fixed on the basis of scientific knowledge, above which direct adverse effects may occur on some receptors, such as trees, other plants or natural ecosystems but not on humans.

| | |
|------------------|---|
| January 2005 | Limit values entered into force for SO ₂ , PM ₁₀ , CO |
| May 2008 | Directive 2008/50/EC entered into force © |
| January 2010 | Limit values entered into force for NO ₂ , Lead, Benzene; target values for PM _{2.5} and Ozone |
| June 2010 | Deadline for transposition into National Law © |
| June 2011 | End of the exemption to attain the limit values for PM ₁₀ |
| January 2015 | Limit value enters into force for PM _{2.5} |

Source: personal elaboration

8.4 Taking stock of coordination: air quality control in Turin

In European cities, urban sustainable strategies are put in place to contrast air pollution. Integrated solutions are therefore necessary to prevent the excessive concentration of pollutant substances, in particular nitrogen dioxide and particulate matters (PM_{2.5} and PM₁₀), which are amongst the major responsible for urban pollution caused by excessive traffic jam, bad fuels quality, obsolete vehicles and inappropriate heating and air conditioning systems.

Thus, the variety of causes at the source of increasing levels of air pollution has induced European cities to undertake general action plans, not only to contrast contingent emergency factors, but above all to reach the gradual reduction of pollutant substances in the transport and public housing sectors, which are generally recognised as the principal sources of particulate matters production within urban areas.

As to the case of northern Italian cities, in particular those located in the Po Valley – including the city of Turin – the concentrations of pollutant substances remain well above the alert thresholds established by the EU, thus exposing inhabitants to a situation of risk. With a specific decision in 2009, the European Commission granted Italy an extension relative to PM₁₀ for 5 zones, whereas a second decision emanated in 2010 declined the second Italian request for further extension, thus approving just a single respite for a zone in the region Campania.

Many local administrations in northern Italy yet embarked on infrastructural and organisational initiatives aimed at reducing the emissions and concentrations of pollutants, although this does not seem to be enough to attain the standards as fixed by the new directive 2008/50/EC. In this connection, recommendations point to the need of strengthening integrated urban strategies able to take into full account the geographical characteristics of the territory as well as the organisational assets of the cities (CITTALIA, 2010).

Legislative context and air quality control in Italy

The Italian system for air quality is originally based on statutory order n. 351/99²¹⁹ that transposed EU directive 96/62. In particular, according to the decree, regional administrations have the duty to define plans for improving air quality; regional plans must include indications as to air quality assessment, the specification of zones and agglomerations as well as the concrete actions to be implemented to improve air quality. Further to that, statutory order n. 60/2002 – transposing into the Italian system directive 1999/30/EC – confirmed what previously established, although with specific reference to the pollutants addressed in the European legislative act. Finally, the new 2008/50 EU directive was acknowledged through order n. 155/2010²²⁰ that substantially confirmed the system for air quality management previously established.

Table 8.3 Legislative “air quality” timeframe in Italy

| DATE | ACTION |
|-------------|--|
| August 1999 | Order n. 351 transposing European directive 96/62/EC © |
| April 2002 | Order n. 60 transposing European Directive 1999/30/EC © |
| 2006 | Statutory order n. 152 of 3 April 2006 on environmental regulation. This order is defined as a sole source designed to overcome the problem of fragmented legislation |
| August 2010 | Order n. 155 transposing European directive 2008/50/EC © |

²¹⁹ “Attuazione della direttiva 96/62/CE in materia di valutazione e di gestione della qualità dell’aria ambiente”.

²²⁰ “Attuazione della direttiva 2008/50/CE relativa alla qualità dell’aria ambiente e per un’aria più pulita in Europa”.

Source: personal elaboration

As regards the territorial division of competences within the policy area of air quality in Italy, the central administration – Ministry for environment (thereinafter MATTM) – sets the limit values and air quality targets, whereas regions organise the operational roles of local administration through regional laws. In this connection, it is up to the regional administrations to fix the criteria for air quality assessment and the operational plans aimed at predisposing actions for the prevention, preservation and eventually the amelioration of air quality, also by setting limit values for the concentration of pollutants. Provinces instead, are in charge of identifying – on the bases of regional criteria and limit values – the territorial zones where it is necessary to intervene and action must be undertaken to contrast pick phenomena of atmospheric pollution. Municipalities are therefore in charge of approving provincial plans and of organising structural interventions for the amelioration of air quality conditions, and – relevant in this case – can decide on traffic control and limitations. Table 8.4 summarises the division of competences on air quality control in Italy.

Table 8.4 Distribution of competences for air quality control in Italy

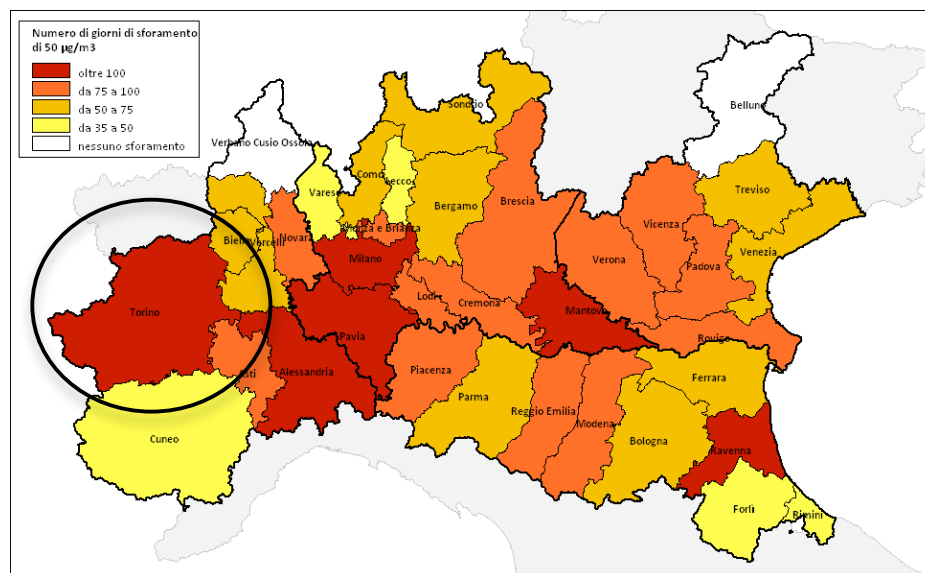
| Competence | Activity |
|--------------------------|---|
| MATTM | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Sets Limit values; - Sets alert thresholds; - Establishes measurement criteria |
| Regions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Identification and evaluation of air quality; <li style="padding-left: 20px;">- Zoning and planning of interventions; <li style="padding-left: 20px;">- Set limit values, alert thresholds and target values; - Draft and develop Plans for air quality control; |
| Provinces/ CITIES | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Implementation of the air quality Plans; |
| ARPA/ISPRA | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Complement measurements and support for data collection; |
| MATTM | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transmission of air quality data to the European Commission through ISPRA and the European Environmental Agency; |

Source: adapted from CITTALIA (2010)

As for the concentration of pollutants within the Italian territory, data confirm that over 40% of total PM₁₀ and NO₂ emissions originate in the Po Valley (CITTALIA, 2010). Over

concentration of these pollutants is therefore due to a concatenation of factors that relate to the morphology of this portion of territory and to atmospheric conditions of high stability, scarce ventilation and seasonal rainfalls that do not favour the dispersion of air pollutants. Additionally, the territory is characterised by high concentrations of road traffic, settlements and industrial activities. Therefore, the daily limit value for PM_{10} ($50 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ not to be overcome more than 35 days in a year) has been regularly surpassed in almost all the urban measurement stations of the Po-Valley, where also the values recorded in the non-urban stations revealed excessive concentrations, thus confirming the persistence of highly unfavourable background conditions²²¹.

Fig. 8.2 Exceeding of the limit values for PM_{10} in the Po-Valley (2009)



* Areas coloured in red indicated those cities where the limit value was surpassed for more than 100 days in a year

Source: CITTALIA (2009)

Within this rather deluding portrayal, the initiatives undertaken by some Mayors led to positive results for the possible amelioration of air quality conditions. This occurred despite the absence of emergency provisions at the national level and the increasing levels of house settlements (and heating systems) and road traffic.

²²¹ In 2009, the limit value for PM_{10} was attained in 57 out of 88 provincial capital cities (equal to 65% of the total). In particular, only in two capital cities of the PO Valley, values remain under the limit.

In particular, cities' administrations have sought to promote the use of methane plants through district heating systems; initiatives have also been deployed to facilitate alternative mobility, especially to promote the use of public transports, the realisation of more efficient cycle lanes and new limited traffic areas in the inner parts of the cities²²².

Logic of action in the city of Turin

The role of the city of Turin in the policy domain of air quality mainly follows the provisions of Regional Law n.43/2000²²³, which gives application to the measures endorsed at the central level. It specifies the distribution of competences to provinces and municipalities and lies down the Regional Plan for air quality control. In particular, the Plan details the criteria for air quality assessment, outlines the classification of the regional territory in zones and agglomerations²²⁴ and sets the range of emergency actions to be undertaken in case acute episodes of air pollution occur²²⁵.

Overall, the Regional government is responsible for matters of orientation and coordination, whereas, according to Regional law 43/2000, the Provinces are in charge of drawing up Action Plans to be implemented in coordination with the municipalities. The latter instead, undertake concrete and final actions. Fig. 8.3 makes sense of the distribution of competences and roles for air quality control within the territory of Turin.

²²² ISTAT data for 2008 reports that the limited traffic areas in the provincial capital cities of the Po Valley grew from 2000 to 2007 by 22% and the total length of cycle lane approximate now to 1200km.

²²³ Regional Law 7 April 2000, n. 43, laying down dispositions for environmental protection within matters of atmospheric pollution and including the first actuation of the Regional Plan for the recovery and preservation of air quality.

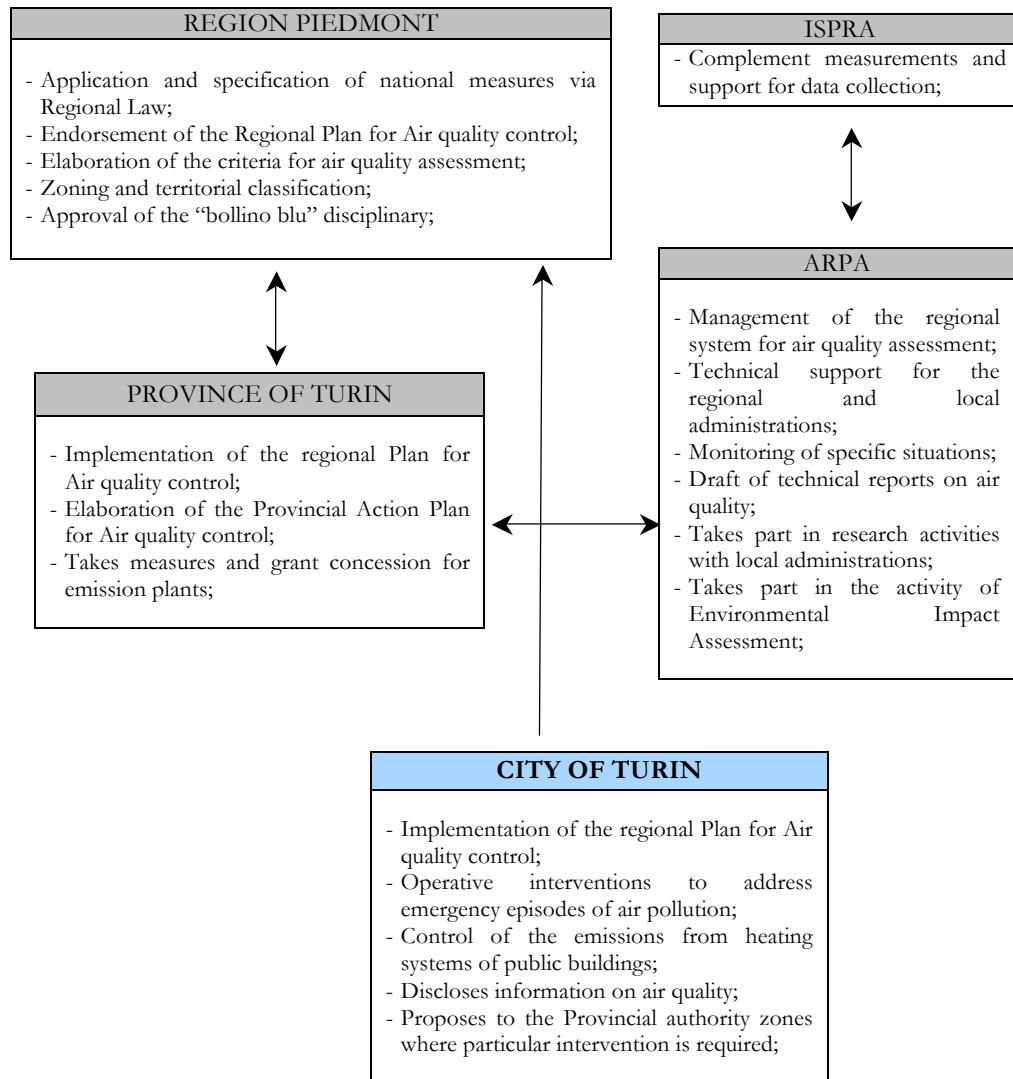
²²⁴ Zoning has been governed in relation to "what" was evaluated as polluting in the territory of competence. In particular, zoning in Piedmont has been organised as follows:

- 2000: zone 1, zone 2, zone 3 (and zone A within the 1, including Turin);
- 2002: "Zona di Piano" (1, 2, 3p); "Zona di Mantenimento" (Maintenance zone) (3)
- 2004: "Delibera di Giunta" (Council deliberation);

Between 2000 and 2002 the operative interventions remained confined solely to Zona A.

²²⁵ Regional law 43/2000 was endorsed when the "new" EU directives were not yet transposed into the national system. However "attention threshold levels" as fixed by national law were already in place. In particular, the regional law foresees the integration of diverse policy measures and their extension to other domains of public policy. Actions in this sense are carried out in the domains of sustainable mobility; heating systems; car trading incentives; traffic roadblocks; research and development; informative campaigns.

Figure 8.3 Air quality control in Turin



Source: personal elaboration

In this connection, the actual role played by the city of Turin in the domain of air quality control can be summarised through the competences of the Environmental Department of the city in this sector. In particular, the municipality is in charge of collecting and managing different data sets on various streams of pollutants and diffusing information on air quality in collaboration with ARPA, as well as undertaking actions for the regulation of vehicular traffic in relationship with the Department for Mobility. The Mayor, as “responsible for the protection of citizens’ health” is authorised by the *Testo Unico Enti Locali* (Single law on

Local Authorities)²²⁶ to adopt extraordinary measures, such as the “urban traffic limitations”. The city has acted prevalently within the “negotiation table” of the Province without renouncing nonetheless to adopt “autonomous measures” in coordination with other urban areas (such as daily traffic limitations)²²⁷. In particular, a new limited traffic area accessible to only ecologic vehicles was established in 2004.

Additional actions and initiatives have been therefore promoted to favour the use of public transport and to boost the sustainability of individual displacement. This can be summarized, on one hand, in the introduction of green procurement plans in 2004 in collaboration with the competent provincial authority, the presentation and successive realisation of a new system of bicycle paths in 2004, the realisation of a new underground line in 2006²²⁸ as well as the prolongation of the Porta Nuova rail station to the adjacent Lingotto rail station. On the other hand, new forms of individual mobility were promoted via the launch of a new system for car sharing and an efficient system of bike sharing in 2010²²⁹, backed by a series of economic incentives to favour the purchase of low-impact/environmentally-friendly means of transport. Relevant in this sense, have also been the recent adoption of an Urban Plan for Sustainable Mobility (PUMS) in 2010 – first national experience of this kind – that lays down guidelines for the realisation of initiatives and infrastructural actions over the next 10-15 years, and the adhesion of the city of Turin to the EU “Covenant of Mayors” programme for CO₂ emission reduction (see chapter 6).

²²⁶ Order n. 267/2000 “Testo unico delle leggi sull’ordinamento degli enti locali”.

²²⁷ There is indeed a growing concern for the state of air quality within the Po Valley; in this respect it is worth mentioning the so-called “Mayors alliance” signed in 2010 to which more than 200 municipalities adhered. The participant signed a document containing target values for air quality and the coordinated traffic bans during specific days of the year.

²²⁸ This is the first automated underground line introduced in Italy. In particular, line 1 connects the peripheral city of Collegno with the inner part of Turin and carries 80.000 passengers on average every day.

²²⁹ The new bike sharing system “To Bike” allows users to collect a bicycle in one of the 116 bike stations in the city and is endowed with a total of 1200 bicycles (<http://www.tobike.it/>).

Table 8.5 Timeframe for Turin

| DATE | ACTION |
|---------------------|--|
| April 2000 | Regional Law n. 43 on Air Quality Control and Regional Plan for the safeguard of Air Quality |
| January 2003 | Municipal order n. 317 “Bollino Blu” © |
| April 2003 | Provincial Action Plan for Air quality control |
| February 2004 | Municipal order n. 523 on limited traffic areas © |
| October 2005 | New Provincial Action Plan on Air Quality control |
| February 2006 | Opening Line 1 of the Underground © |
| January 2007 | Municipal order n. 120 on limited traffic areas © |
| January 2010 | Municipal order n. 283 on traffic closure © |
| June 2010 | Adoption of the Urban Plan for Sustainable Mobility © |
| July 2010 | Municipal order n. 3671 on traffic closure © |

Source: personal elaboration.

Insights into the Europeanization of air quality control

Despite the implementation of several action plans for air quality control, the territory of Turin remains mainly characterised by zones where the limit values for certain pollutants (in particular PM_{10} and NO_2) are constantly overcome. The particular morphological conformation of this area, together with adverse meteorological conditions – scarce ventilation and seasonal precipitations – plays an unfavourable role in this sense.

Nonetheless, interviews revealed how scarce coordination at various levels of administration – especially in the attempt to effectively comprehend the causes leading to the huge gap in achieving the standards for emissions – is the main hindrance for the actual respect of the limit values. In turn, this translates into delays in implementing the legislative provisions at the regional level as well as in the sub-optimal division of territorial competences at the national level. In this connection, in 2008 the whole Country asked for a temporary dispensation on the limit values for PM_{10} , to compensate for a situation characterised by the absence of a coherent national plan and where the transposition of the new EU “air quality” directive 2008/50 is still somehow uncertain at the moment of writing.

Notwithstanding a rather deluding national situation, where the existing policy for air quality control is moreover the resultant of a series of contingent measures to face critical situations and where the provisions attached to the EU action in this field feature, at time as indispensable lifebuoy, at time as untenable constraints, there has been room for innovation and progress within the localities. EU opportunities as well as constraints have been used for the amelioration of urban territories and their air quality.

In this connection, our analysis shows that even in the case of the policy for air quality control as related to the deployment of the EU directive 1999/30 – and directive 2008/50 later on – national measures have been adopted in order to respond to EU requirements, although the implementation of these requirements mainly bears on local authorities. It is within cities and local territories that concrete actions to contrast the adverse effects of air pollution are elaborated and eventually promoted.

Thus, in the specific case of Turin, where the air quality conditions have traditionally been critical and to some extent continue to remain above threshold, the action of specific sectors – and individuals – in the municipal, provincial and regional administration, not only has led to the efficient promotion of contrasting and proactive measures for air quality control, but eventually to the amelioration of air quality (at least for certain pollutants) within an objectively problematic context. Our narrative in this case reveals how the legitimacy of local actors underwent decisive changes during the period of examination, both in terms of actors' discretion to take initiative somehow independently of central authorities and *vis-à-vis* the European legislator, which recommends actions to be taken as close as possible to the source of the problem to be tackled. Therefore, although neither the city of Turin, nor the other local administrations acting in the territory, directly take part in the *fora* for discussion and group of experts at the EU level²³⁰ – notably within the

²³⁰ Amongst the “fora” where air quality issues are debated there are the “expert” working groups within the Council (part of the co-decision procedure), the consultation process in place for the impact assessment of matters linked to air quality as well as the groups of inter-services consultation. Matters of air quality are further addressed in the Air Quality Reference Laboratory (AQUILA – a project steered by the Joint Research Centre of the European Commission) and the Forum for Air quality Modelling (FAIRMODE –

Council – renewed synergies were put in place for the elaboration and implementation of the regional Plans for air quality and provincial plans for action. This was especially for the part concerning assessment, measurement, and diffusion of information on air quality in collaboration with research institutes such as ARPA and ISPRA.

As to the instruments eventually promoted over the last decade to contrast air pollution and to incentive alternative use of transport, a bulk of initiatives can be attributed to the municipality of Turin, especially to the Mayor and the different services within the Department for environment and the Mobility sector. In this connection, although generalised urban toll for vehicles transiting in the inner part of the city (a solution employed in many other urban cities in Europe) were not introduced in Turin, the surface of limited traffic areas has been substantially increased during the period considered for the analysis and a renewed system for vehicle certification (“bollino blu”) was instituted in 2003. Furthermore, the Mayor (Mr. Chiamparino during the 2001-2011 period) exercised his special competencies in this sector several times through the establishment of traffic closures in coordination with the mayors of the other main cities of the Po-Valley.

Concerning the procedures underpinning policy development in this domain – similarly to the case of waste management – different administrations acting in the territory of Turin have sought to tap the benefit of the integrated approach as promoted by the EU. Therefore, whether horizontal integration has translated into initiatives undertaken within different policy sectors but with high reach on matters of air quality, the vertical outlook revealed more problematic. As reported, action coordination was perceived (sub)-optimal at the local level, instead more difficult *vis-à-vis* the central administration, which is often deemed to be inconsistent as to the measures promoted, and somehow lacking in terms of coordinating actions with the localities. Besides embarking on a more integrated approach to tackle the issue of air pollution, new procedures for data collection and evaluation were put in place. In particular, through the monitoring system set up by the competent service

within the European Environmental Agency), both of which see the participation of national research bodies or national experts.

of the provincial administration²³¹ – where 7 out of 28 detection stations are located in the city of Turin – data are collected and elaborated by ARPA, which is in charge of the technical management of the regional system for monitoring air quality. Therefore, data on air quality are benchmarked between the municipal, provincial and regional level, and eventually comparatively analysed regionally in view to their submission to the national competent authority, which is in turn expected to report annually to the European Commission.

Actors at the local level commonly recognise that since the introduction of the first EU directive on ambient air quality in 1999 – directive 96/62/EC –, attention has been more decidedly focused on matters of sustainable development – in particular sustainable urban mobility– and more generally on the necessity to move towards policy integration also in the sector of air quality control. This tendency is further strengthened by the successive promotion of more detailed EU measures – directives 1999/30/EC and 2008/50 – which led to change in the perception of the specific problems linked to air quality and favoured the endorsement of initiatives in a sector not fully regulated by law. In this connection, many of the officers directly involved in air quality management²³² witness a partial modification of policy makers' attitudes and perceptions after EU requirements became local policy yardsticks. At the same time though, the influence of the EU within this policy domain is often identified with the economic sanctions applied when air quality standards are not attained. Hence, not only the city of Turin – which is nonetheless at the forefront in contrasting air pollution – but also the other major Italian cities (through ANCI) are urging both the EU and national authorities for greater financial resources to be attributed directly to local administrations to grant interventions in this specific – and highly complex – sector. Public administrations – and notably the Mayors – in urban

²³¹ A detailed specification and elaboration of data on air quality in the Province of Turin are summarised annually in the report “Uno sguardo sull’Aria”, jointly edited by the Province of Turin and ARPA (reports for the 2000-2009 period are available at:

<http://www.provincia.torino.it/ambiente/inquinamento/eventi/sguardo>).

²³² Interviews were conducted in 2010 and 2011 within the competent sectors at the City Hall of Turin, the Piedmont Province and the Piedmont Region.

territories are aware of the necessity to boost synergic agreements between municipal administrations in the same territory, where policy actions to ameliorate air quality can be more efficiently pursued.

EUROPEANIZATION VIA MODES of DISTRIBUTION

Structural policy and the case of the community initiative URBAN II

9.1 Introduction

Over the last two decades, the European Union – particularly on the initiative of the Commission – has played an increasing role seeking to favour and shape development within urban and city areas. The “Urban Policy” of the EU has developed, so far, mostly within the competences of the EU for economic and social cohesion and its funding mechanisms. Even within this “policy realm” the Commission maintains the formal right of initiative to the Council and the European Parliament. In reason of this right, the Commission is enabled to promote policy development and to include proposals from relevant stakeholders, such as *cities*. Moreover, thanks to the availability of certain budgetary rooms, the Commission could carry out some “independent” programmes to support innovative actions according to former Art. 10 of the Structural Funds provisions (European Commission, 1989).

Amongst the actors involved, cities could boost their mobilisation thanks to the growing significance of measures for urban development within the Structural Funds (Hooghe, 1995; Marks, 1992). Urban measures began as innovative actions under Art. 10 of the ERDF, and Art. 6 of the ESF in 1988 – in the form of experimental projects – and continued in 1994 and 1999 through the URBAN/URBAN II Community Initiatives and the enhanced urban targeting of Objective 2 programmes.

As shown in the previous chapters, the Community instruments addressed to urban areas have multiplied over the years, ranging from environmental programmes and transport, to research and development. Nonetheless, the urban action of the European Union, as of the

mid-1990s, mainly translated into programmes for *urban regeneration*. The “integrated approach” represented the innovative feature of the EU action in this domain.

In this connection, the EU *integrated approach* consists of both a horizontal and a vertical component. The former entails overcoming the sectorial approach and contextually tackling multiple domains (i.e. environment, employment, transport, financing, etc.). The latter, instead, builds on involving different institutional and administrative bodies (EU, Central Government, Regions, Municipalities) during the programming and control phases, and on the participation of private actors and the civil society living in the concerned area of action. Thus, the urban policy of the European Union has been mainly focused on programmes for urban regeneration whose principal instruments have been the Urban Pilot Projects over the 1988–1999 period (second phase) and the programmes financed under the CI URBAN between 1994 and 2006.

Considering the development and the implementation of the CI URBAN II, with reference to a specific territorial context – we argue – shall allow to unveil the causal mechanisms structuring the interactions upon the specific policy issues at stake, thus eventually leading to transformations within different policy arenas in the territory taken into consideration. In this connection, the Europeanization process is thought to follow patterns of territorial rescaling, programming between different administrative layers acting in the localities as well as of compliance with the targets recommended by the EU provisions in this instance.

After presenting some background information about the policy area under consideration, the chapter will outline the development of the instrument chosen to exemplify *distribution* as a mode of Europeanization. A further section shall therefore make sense of the way URBAN II was addressed and managed in the case of Turin, thus eventually restructuring some of the modalities traditionally employed to carry out similar initiatives in the city. The conclusive section will anticipate some considerations about the nature of Europeanization and strategic interaction for this mode of Europeanization.

9.2 Structural policy in the EU: what space for cities?

The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) was established in 1975, after the entrance in the EU of Denmark, Ireland and the UK. In this early stage the Commission had, nonetheless, a limited role. The Commission retained a certain role in approving applications and responsibility for ensuring that the funds were additional to other planned domestic expenditure. The approval of the Single European Act (SEA) in 1987 – and the insertion of a new Title V into the Treaty of Rome (Art. 13a-e, now 158-62) – led to the quest for strengthening economic and social cohesion so as to reducing the disparities between levels of regional development.

Following the SEA, resources allocated to regional policy increased decisively and the budget of the Structural Fund for the 1988-1993 programming period reached ECU 14 billion, approximately 25 per cent of the EU budget. The initial allocation of ECU 257.6 million in 1975 represented solely 4.8 per cent of total EC spending (Bache, 1998: 70). Following negotiation in 1993, the Cohesion Fund was established in the TEU. Together with the approval of the *Delors-1 package*, providing for a doubling of the structural funds, the Cohesion Funds brought the total Structural Fund action to ECU 27.4 billion projected for 1999, thus representing 35 per cent of the total EU budget (Tofarides, 2003: 42). After the 1988 reform, the Commission played a more proactive role in Regional policies. Five priority objectives were drafted in order to guide and facilitate the allocation of structural funds.

With the 1993 reform a sixth objective was added. In the strategic document *Agenda 2000: for a Stronger and Wider Union*, published in July 1997 (European Commission, 1997b), the Commission outlined the Structural programme for the first period of the new millennium (2000-06). The original six priority objectives were reduced to solely three. Although the objectives outlined in Agenda 2000 were confirmed, for the first time thus far, the total financing to the Regional policy was reduced, and a series of supporting

measures were elaborated and financed for the “new Member States” entered in 2004. Furthermore, the reform led to partially reorganise the role of the Commission, which is now reduced to the management of the initial programming phases, thus leaving rooms for manoeuvre and discretionarily to national and sub-national governments²³³.

Table 9.1 Growth of the Structural Funds, 1975-2006

| Year | Million Ecu/Eur | Percentage of EU budget |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1975 (ecus) | 257 | 4.8 |
| 1981 | 1,540 | 7.3 |
| 1987 | 3,311 | 9.1 |
| 1992 | 18,557 | 25.0 |
| 1998 | 33,461 | 37.0 |
| 2002 EU 15 (eur) | 30,865 | 30.0 |
| 2002 EU, enlarged | 34,615 | 35.0 |
| 2006 | 29,170 | 32.0 |
| 2006 EU, enlarged | 41,250 | 39.0 |

Source: Allen (2000): 244

The EU principles of structural action

Four main principles stand behind the Structural action of the European Union and guide the Commission throughout the different phases of the policy process, from the negotiation to the management and implementation of the programmes.

Thus, *concentration* is about focusing the funds on areas of greatest need. After the 1993 reform, national government reasserted control over the selection of areas to be awarded European funding. With respect to concentration, it is rather evident that there has been a constant tension between the Commission's commitment towards more concentration and the concern of Member States to obtain bigger share of the Structural Funds. *Programming* instead, involves switching from the project-based approach of pre-1988 regional policy to a multi-annual programme. After 1993, Member State authorities were required to submit a Single Programming Document which would include a development plan, as well as applications for aid related to this (European Commission, 1989). The principle of

²³³ For a complete overview of the development of EU Regional policy see for instance: Bache (1998) and Brunazzo, M. (2005).

additionality in EC regional policy dates back to the establishment of the ERDF in 1975, but only after the reform of the Structural Funds in 1988, the Commission stated that a monitoring system was needed to assess the extent to which the Community effort is matched at the national level (European Commission, 1989). Alongside the enforcement of *additionality*, the Commission pushed forward the principle of *partnership* in order to strengthen the role of regions in relation to the EU, and partly beyond the control of the nation State.

Since the establishment of the ERDF in 1975 the Commission stated: “Community regional policy is by nature a partnership between the Community and its Member States, with the former at the present stage the junior partner” (Tofarides, 2003: 51). Partnership was initially defined as a “close consultation between the Commission, the Member States concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other levels, which each partner in pursuit a common goal” (Commission, 1989: 15).

The scope of *partnership* was then extended by the inclusion of the principle of *subsidiarity* into the TEU signed in 1991. Through subsidiary, non-governmental partners were introduced in the implementation of European Structural funds, thus reflecting the idea that “community structural action depends for its implementation, not only on the national and regional authorities, but also on the various economic and social partners” (Commission, 1989: 15). By endorsing this additional principle, the Commission sought to bring new partners into the implementation process, in order to improve the delivery mechanisms and effectiveness of regional policy.

Table 9.2 Priority Objectives of the Structural Fund 1988-2006

| Situation 1988-1999 | Situation 2000-2006 |
|---|--|
| Obj.1 Promoting the development of “less developed regions” | Obj. 1 Promoting regions with lack of development |
| Obj. 6 Developing sparsely populated Nordic areas | |
| Obj. 2 Converting the regions seriously affected by industrial decline | Obj.2 Promoting regions facing change in the industrial, services and fisheries sectors |
| Obj. 5 Adjustment and development of rural areas | |
| Obj. 3 Combating long term unemployment and promoting entry into labour market | Obj. 3 Modernization of systems of education, training and employment |

Source: adapted from Allen (2000): 252, and Brunazzo (2005): 57.

In addition to the major programmes – accounting for over 70 per cent of the entire Structural Fund budget – for the 1989-1993 programming period the Commission allocated almost ECU 4 billion to launch a series of Community Initiatives (CIs), corresponding to approximately 9 per cent of the ERDF budget (Bache, 1998: 71); these could contain a combination of funds (ERDF, ESF, EAGGF), depending on the problem tackled. Over the period 1989-1993, 4 ECU billion were spread between twelve different CIs, covering different policy themes. Although at an embryonic stage, CIs promoted dialogue and interaction between the Commission and a broader range of actors. Over this period there were not specific CIs devoted to cities and urban problems. In the wake of the second round of reforms (covering the 1994-1999 period), the Commission proposed to increase the percentage of funds for CIs up to 15 per cent of the Structural Funds general budget. In response, a new Council Committee on Community Initiatives was established in the aim of tightening the control of member governments, and the proposal of the Commission was limited to solely 9 per cent by the Council.

Finally, the 1999 reform substantially simplified the organisation and number of CIs, by reducing them to only four. With a financial availability of 5 per cent of the total Structural Funds budget for the 2000-2006 period (European Commission, 1999). Regulation for the 2007-2013 period does not explicitly foresee any Community Initiatives

and the “working methods” characterising three of the former CIs – Interreg III, Equal and Urban II – is incorporated within the three new regional objectives of the EU Regional Policy.

Table 9.3 Community Initiatives 1988-2006

| Initiative | Purpose | Financial allocation |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1988-1999 | | |
| Interreg (I and II) | Cross-border, Trans-national cooperation | 1989-1993 ECU 4 billion; 9% of the Structural Funds |
| Leader (I and II) | Rural development | |
| Regis | Support for the most remote regions | |
| Adapt | Adaptation of the workforce to change | |
| SME | Small and medium size firms | |
| Rechar (I and II) | Coal-dependent regions | |
| Konver | Defence-industry dependent regions | |
| Resider | Steel-dependent regions | |
| Retex | Textile-dependent regions | |
| Urban | Urban Policy | 1994-1999 ECU 13,45 billion; 9% of the Structural Funds |
| Pesca | Restructuring the fisheries sector | |
| Employment | Employment policies | |
| 2000-2006 | | |
| Interreg III | Cross-border, Trans-national cooperation | |
| Leader + | Rural development | |
| Equal | Trans-national cooperation against discrimination and inequalities in the labour market | 2000-2006 EUR 10,44 billion; 5% of The Structural Funds |
| Urban II | Urban Policy | |

Source: adapted from Allen (2000): 258, and Brunazzo (2005): 60; CEC (1999)

The launch of 33 Urban Pilot Projects over the 1989-1993 period and of further 26 projects during the 1994-1999 period can be directly related to developments following the 1988 Structural Funds reform and to the possibilities entrenched in Art.10 of the ERDF²³⁴.

A second phase of the Urban Pilot Projects was approved in July 1997 with the aim of continuing to support innovation in urban regeneration and planning. Amongst the beneficiary cities in this period, there were both cities belonging to areas covered by

²³⁴ In this early stage, UPPs have been used by the Commission to promote innovative approaches in cities, amongst them the Antwerp project directed to the establishment of strong neighbourhood partnerships and the Dublin project, addressed to regeneration initiatives, mainly in the field of arts and culture (European Commission, 1997a).

objective 1 and 2 of the Structural Funds and cities “out of objective”. The average dimension of each UPP was 6,1 MECU (1 ECU= 1 EURO), 50% of which was financed by the ERDF. The UPPs stressed the innovative nature of the action undertaken and a different approach in carrying out interventions in urban areas.

Since that time onwards, “urban policy” has been part of the agenda of the regional policy of the Commission, even though an urban policy was outside the competences of the Commission and it was not officially recognised in the Treaties. In the early 1990s DGXVI (now DG for Regional Policy) within the Commission decisively oriented its action towards urban areas by underlining the need for increasing cooperation between cities, information exchange and diffusing know-how. The Commission proposed an amendment to the regulation of Structural Funds, with the aim of including “urban decline” in the definition of ERDF objectives. Nonetheless, the European Council rejected the Commission proposal for a more formal urban competence in the Treaties in 1991 (Tofarides 2003). Only after the first round of CIs, a process based on more systematic consultation between DGXVI and representatives of cities took place. It was the favourable response of the European Parliament to the Green Paper on the future of Community Initiatives published by the Commission in 1993 (European Commission, 1993) that encouraged the Commission to include an explicit reference to “Urban Initiatives” in its communication in March 1994 (European Commission, 1994).

URBAN, as an official CI, was formally adopted on 15 June 1994. No additional Treaty competences were required as URBAN was within the framework of CIs that had existed since the 1988 reform (Nanetti, 2002). Together with the first round of URBAN between 1994 and 1999, it was the aforementioned EC document “Towards an urban agenda in the European Union” presented by former European Commissioner Monika Wulf-Mathies that, by analysing problems and opportunities of European cities, set up the

basis for the URBAN AUDIT I, a pilot project where data over strengths and weaknesses of European Cities were going to be statistically inventoried²³⁵.

In 1999, besides the Community Initiative URBAN II, which pursued the approach adopted by URBAN I – aimed at promoting sustainable development in troubled urban districts – the launch of URBACT²³⁶ and the second phase of the Urban Audit confirm a trend within which a large part of the financial resources of Objective 1 and 2 of the Structural Funds is addressed towards urban-related measures.

Table 9.4 EU programmes specifically directed to cities

| Programming Period | Programme | Nr. of Projects /Cities | Budget |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1989-1993 | UPP 1 | 33 | ECU 102 M. |
| 1994-1999 | UPP 2 | 26 | ECU 63.6 M. |
| 1994-1999 | URBAN I | 118 | EUR 900 Million |
| 1994-1999 | Urban Audit I | 58 | EUR 2.2 Million |
| 2000-2006 | URBAN II | 70 | EUR 728 Million |
| 2000-2006 | Urban Audit II | 258 | EUR 1.6 Million |
| 2000-2006 | Obj.2- Urban Areas in difficulty | Data not available | Data not available |
| 2007-2013 | NONE | | |

Source: adapted from Euricur (2004): 48.

For the current programming period (2007-2013) the Commission reinforced (at least formally) the place of urban issues by fully integrating actions in this field into the programmes. A further simplification of the functioning mechanisms of the Cohesion Policy has been adopted. From the past nine objectives and six financial instruments, the present Cohesion Policy is based on only three objectives (Convergence; Regional Competitiveness and Employment; European Territorial Cooperation) implemented through three financial instruments (ERDF; ESF; Cohesion Fund).

Within this new structure no specific Community Initiative is promoted and the ex-URBAN II and EQUAL programmes will be part of the convergence objective, as well as of the regional competitiveness and employment objective. Thus, urban-related

²³⁵ <http://www.urbanaudit.org>

²³⁶ <http://urbact.eu>

programmes are part of the mainstream regional programmes under new objectives 1 and 2; as a consequence regional authorities are responsible for the programming and management of perspective urban initiatives.

Table 9.5 The architecture of Cohesion Policy 2007-2013

| The Cohesion Policy Architecture | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|
| 2000-2006 | | ► | 2007-2013 | |
| Objectives Community Initiatives Cohesion Fund | Financial Instruments | | Objectives | Financial Instruments |
| Objective 1: Regions lagging behind in development terms | ERDF ESF EAGGF FIFG | ► | Convergence | ERDF ESF Cohesion Fund |
| Cohesion Fund | Cohesion Fund | | | |
| Objective 2: Economic and social conversion zones | ERDF ESF | ► | Regional Competitiveness and Employment | ERDF ESF |
| Objective 3: Training systems and employment policies | ESF | | | |
| Interreg III | ERDF | ► | European Territorial Cooperation | ERDF |
| URBAN II | ERDF | | | |
| EQUAL | ESF | | | |
| Leader + | EAGGF | | | |
| 4 OBJECTIVES, 4 CI + COHESION FUND | 6 INSTRUMENTS | | 3 OBJECTIVES | 3 INSTRUMENTS |

Source: adapted from European Commission (2007): 10.

9.3 CI URBAN II. A catalyst for urban Europeanization

The URBAN Community Initiative represents – we argue – the most significant EU attempt to concretely address urban areas in terms of policy promotion. It is one of the principal actions within EU policies favouring institutional transformation and policy change in cities and urban areas. This also permits to address the relations between the subjects affected by the set of instruments considered. Due to their involvement in EU-led urban programmes, and particularly in the URBAN Community Initiative – during the 1994-1999 and 2000-2006 programming period – European cities reacted to both the new

opportunities offered, and the constraints sometimes accompanying the EU-grants (Atkinson, 2001; Halpern, 2005; Marshall, 2005).

Between 1994 and 1999 URBAN I Initiative financed programmes in 118 urban areas with a total of EUR 953 million of Community assistance, 3.2 million people lived in the supported areas and projects focused on rehabilitation of infrastructures, job creation, combating social exclusion and upgrading of the environment. With a total budget of EUR 730 million, projects for sustainable economic development and social regeneration were co-financed under URBAN II in 70 urban areas throughout Europe (European Commission, 2003b).

Differently from the first edition, over the second round the financial equipment decreased substantially and URBAN became a mono-fund program, financed exclusively by the ERDF. Building on the positive experience of the first edition, URBAN II is based on a series of Commission guidelines to finance projects aimed at improving living conditions, job creation, integrating the socially excluded, developing environmental friendly public transport and facilitating the use of information technologies in cities (European Commission, 2000a).

Table 9.6 Comparison of the two phases of URBAN

| | Eligible areas | Eligible Population | ERDF Contribution | Average ERDF/ programme | Average ERDF/ Inhabitant | Total Investment | Total Investment inhabitant |
|-----------------|----------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| URBAN I | 118 | 3.2 million | € 935 M | € 8.1 M | € 300 | € 1800 M | € 560 |
| URBAN II | 70 | 2.2 million | € 700 M | € 10 M | € 320 | € 1580 M | € 720 |

Source: adapted from <http://ec.europa.eu/info regio>

With the aim of pursuing these objectives, URBAN II focused on 3 main actions: physical and environmental regeneration, social inclusion, entrepreneurship and employment. Therefore, some of the main features of URBAN II programmes, constituting what can be

termed the *acquis URBAN* (or URBAN model) were: targeting small areas, focus on social inclusion and integration of minorities, formation of local partnership and the exchange of experience and best practices, respect of local specificities and local capacity building.

By elaborating the contents of the Council Regulation 1260/1999 on general provisions for Structural Funds 2000-2006²³⁷, the Commission pointed out how the programmes funded under the URBAN CI since 1994 “are delivering visible improvements in the quality of life in their target areas” (European Commission, 2000a: 2).

In this connection, the two main objectives to be reached through URBAN were “to promote the formulation and implementation of particularly innovative strategies for sustainable economic and social regeneration, and to enhance exchange of knowledge and experience in relation to sustainable urban regeneration and development in the Community” (European Commission, 2000a: 3-4).

As regards the “way of doing” within URBAN CI, each city, town, or urban area to be supported has to present a single problem to be tackled, and a situation of effective need must be demonstrated on the base of relevant indicators proposed by Member States, and thereafter discussed with the Commission. In this sense, URBAN II programmes differ from “pilot action” for their strategic nature, although territorially limited. The trend towards territorial development programmes and integrated strategic plans had been undertaken by many European cities over the same period of time, such as in the case of Bilbao, Birmingham, Lille and Turin²³⁸.

Strategies elaborated in the Community Initiative Programmes (CIPs) need to have a commitment to “organisational change, participatory governance, empowerment and capacity-building transferable into mainstream practice at local and wider levels” (European Commission, 2000a: 6). Furthermore, each CIP must contain a description of the social and economic situation in terms of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats, and a

²³⁷ Council of the European Communities (CE) (1999), “Council Regulation (EC) No 1260/1999, laying down general provision on the Structural Funds”, June the 21st 1999.

²³⁸ For a more detailed overview of “urban policies” in different Counties see EURICUR, (2004).

series of indicators regarding the labour market, the environmental situation and the sense of security perceived by citizens (European Commission 2000b: 7). It is up to Member States then, to identify potentially eligible areas and to break down funding once they are granted; afterwards, the preparation of the CIP is up to the local authority responsible for the eligible areas, which should act in “partnership with the regional and national authorities depending on the structure of each Member State” (European Commission, 2000b: 7).

Operationally, a series of authorities and structures to be specified into the CIP by the responsible local authority, are in charge of programmes management and implementation. These usually are a *managing authority* – designed by the Member State –, a *paying authority*, with financial responsibility, and a *monitoring committee*. In this connection, the Commission invited to strengthen partnership relations and to promote wider consultation between the committed urban authority and other levels of governments, as well as with social and economic partners from non-governmental organisations.

As underlined in the presentation guide of URBAN II published by the DG Regio in 2003 (European Commission, 2003b), key features of URBAN CI are the integrated approach to issues which elsewhere are often tackled in isolation, the high profile for EU priorities and the fact that programmes are run at the local level, close to people and to their problems. In fact, “an important part of the rationale for URBAN is to *contribute to the effectiveness of other urban actions*. This is achieved *by acting as a testing ground, or a model, and by generating the raw material for the exchange of experience*. Much of the added value of URBAN therefore steams from the method of implementation” (European Commission, 2003b: 16, *italics added*). In comparison to its predecessor, URBAN II was characterised by a higher degree to which management is decentralised to the local authorities. In fact, one third of the 70 programmes initially selected, had a city council as managing authority (all the Italian, Dutch, Austrian, Finnish and Irish programmes, and most of the French programmes), for another third of the programmes the local authority was the key player in

partnership with central government (i.e. England, Spain and Greece). In the remaining programmes, the city council was a full member of the monitoring committee (i.e. Germany and Portugal).

To conclude on this part, some considerations on the current architecture of the EU Cohesion Policy are worth mentioning. Besides a minor importance of URBAN CI in its second round – at least from a budgetary point of view – concern has been risen as to the interruption of Community Initiatives for the 2007-2013 period and their “inclusion” in the new objectives of the Structural Funds under the sole responsibility of regional authorities. Already in the course of the past programming period (2000-2006), the involvement of cities in the planning and implementation of regional programmes under former objectives 1 and 2 has turned out contrasting results.

The current regulation of Structural Funds (European Commission, 2006), despite stressing the importance of the urban dimension by affirming that (13th whereas): “in the view of the importance of sustainable urban development and the contribution of towns and cities, particularly medium-sized ones, to regional development, greater account should be taken of them by developing their role in programming to promote urban regeneration” (European Commission, 2006: 2) demands the entire process to Regions, thus leaving the development of urban actions to regional programmes and the delegation of responsibilities to municipal authorities. Hence, even though spaces for cities are officially recognised in the new regulation, and the urban dimension within the Cohesion Policy has been somehow amplified following the Communication of the Commission to the Council and to the Parliament put forward in July 2006 (European Commission, 2006), the absence of specific programmes addressed to urban areas and their inclusion into regional programming oblige cities to re-address their strategic behaviour, especially vis-à-vis Regions. This situation takes place within a changing European scenario where, the entrance of new Countries increased the value of exchanging “good practices” for urban

regeneration and the networked action of European cities with the aim of translating into practice what formally stated by regulations.

Within this picture, outcomes depend – we argue – on national differences in the tradition of organizing policies addressed to urban areas, and still more on the regional capacity to set up dialogue and effective partnerships with cities, especially with regional capitals. Not all the regional programmes thus far submitted to the Commission foresee a clear urban dimension, especially those of Countries, like Italy, where neither at the national nor at the local level, a clearly stated and efficiently managed urban policy exists²³⁹.

9.4 Exploring modes of distribution: URBAN II in Turin

An explicit urban policy was not in place in Italy, at least until the mid-nineties. The concept of metropolitan cities was introduced for the first time only with the endorsement of law 142/90; although some attempts have been made by the government to start off a discussion, especially as regards administrative reforms at the urban level, an explicit urban policy was missing in terms of contents.

Urban policy in fact, has not been a priority for the central government, which since 1942, on the contrary, favoured de-urbanisation on the basis of Art.1 of urban law n. 1159, rather than managing the (then) ongoing process of urbanisation. This hampered any attempt of programming and defining the phenomena of urbanisation and its links to economic and social aspects. Only in the 1990s, terms such as urban planning and programming became familiar to Italian legislators, which, despite setting up instruments for an integrated urban policy, have not succeeded in drawing the clear contents of such a policy. Thus, it is of little surprise that still now, formal metropolitan cities have not been constituted in the Country.

²³⁹ Interviews conducted in Italy confirm this trend. In particular, concerns are shown as to the scarce spending capacity of Italian regions in the management of structural funds. Proposals have been made to re-channel the funds from the regional to the urban level, thus increasing the possibility of a better use of funding, even in the actual absence of a programme such as URBAN (Interview conducted in Rome, May 2010).

Therefore, if urban policies exist, they assume the feature of “self-made individual solutions”, partly due to the lack of coordination and cooperation between the several departments and institutions at the national, regional and local level in charge of competences in connection to urban matters. Up till recently, scarce coordination represented the main hindrance to the development of a clear national urban policy. This implied, in turn, worsening the performances of larger cities and maintaining the dichotomy between the conditions of northern and southern cities, where problems in urban areas are getting more complex.

Compared to other European countries, in Italy, the elaboration of viable solutions to manage transformations occurred within the urban system seems to remain outside the political debate, but it is also partly neglected by the experts in the field. Moreover, the absence of a general perspective on urban development has been further thwarted after legislative production (on urban matters) and control of local plans were transferred from the State to regional authorities. At present, competences on policies and interventions in cities and urban areas are divided and shared between all levels of government (State, regions, local authorities) and between numerous departments within each of the aforementioned levels. Moreover, at the central level of government, the main competences are in turn distributed amongst different departments, a fact that has certainly not favoured the coordination of action and the effective organization of a coherent urban policy for Italian cities²⁴⁰.

In Italy, differently from other contexts, the evolution of urban themes has been characterised by a certain delay and above all by the territorial dualism typical of the Italian peninsula and by the social-economic situation at the national level. The “crisis” of the city became manifest only in the mid-1980s, but without assuming a homogeneous territorial

²⁴⁰ A similar fragmentation and overlapping of competences is mirrored at the regional and local level, where urban planning is organised around four main domains of intervention, namely *Territorial Plans of regional Coordination*, *Territorial Plans*, *Territorial Plans of Provincial Coordination* and *General Regulatory Plan*. Especially in the case of the elaboration of the latter, problems related to the attribution of competences, problems of coordination, and then management of specific tasks are frequently at stake.

characterisation. In fact, the population— especially in municipalities with more than 100000 inhabitants – underwent a decisive decline (a trend alike in both northern and southern Italy) – and the emergence of a range of problems of “urban degradation” which, instead, assumed different connotations in different territorial areas (Centre-North/*Mezzogiorno*)²⁴¹.

It is within such a picture that a “patchwork attempt” to organise a coherent urban policy took place; as already stated, it has been an effort made of repeated emanations of regulations, but missing a real strategy and a proper programmatic definition.

The only systematic analysis of the national urban policies in Italy dates back 1968, when throughout the so called *Progetto '80*, the then Ministry of Budget commissioned a compound study about the ongoing urban development characterising Italy in an attempt to gauge problems and potentialities of the Italian urban system. The image offered by this report was already a picture made of great dichotomies, not only between northern and southern areas, but also between big conurbations and medium-sized cities, between urban areas and countryside, between strongly hierarchal systems and polycentric ones (Dematteis and Bonavero, 1997: 89).

Multiple initiatives have been undertaken from then onwards, especially at the proposal of the DICOTER, the General Direction for the Territorial Coordination within the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transportation. Two general (and detached) categories of intervention marked this trend of action. On one side, initiatives oriented towards restructuring institutional assets and political-administrative structures with the aim of solving the problems of competence attribution; on the other side, programmes aimed at intervening on specific “material” problems afflicting urban areas. Therefore, priority was given to infrastructural interventions, mainly linked to definite sectorial policies (i.e.

²⁴¹ While in the case of northern cities problems of urban disease and degradation are located in well-defined areas and are typical of specific situations, in cities belonging to Regions Objective 1 of the Structural Funds, these problems have a dramatic connotation. They are in fact characteristic of the entire urban area and typical of solely a certain portion of the European territory, thus being hardly comparable to dynamics in other areas of the EU.

Services) or area-based policies (i.e. *Mezzogiorno*) and to actions related to peculiar events, thus confirming the objective difficulty to set up a coherent strategy of intervention.

Furthermore, also the accomplishment of these programmes has partially been hindered by technical-financial problems and by huge political-administrative inefficiencies. As regards interventions aimed at reasserting the institutional and administrative system, the establishment of the Department for urban areas in 1987 and the already cited law 142/90 are worth mentioning, envisaging metropolitan areas and reforming the institutional assets of local governments; most of the articles here contained (especially those about metropolitan areas) have not found implementation thus far.

Therefore, the picture emerging in the Italian case is made of multiple strategies aimed more at containing the worst setbacks deriving from contingent situations, than at setting up a coherent development strategy. This should envisage the promotion of a more modern and efficient political and administrative asset within an urban system that needs to renovate in order to align with the new governmental and administrative exigencies of urban areas in Europe. The implementation and organization of an integrated urban strategy at the national level has been missing, and only few cities, such as Genoa, Turin and Bologna have been endorsing Strategic Plans and Integrated Strategies of urban development, often by drawing on the model of guidelines and programmes promoted by the European Union.

Developing URBAN CI in Italy

The implementation of the first edition of CI URBAN, is rooted in an experimental phase, where some Italian cities started to manage “complex programmes” of urban regeneration aimed at re-qualifying the urban context, by seeking to reorganize urban services, quality of life and urban functionality.

These programmes maintained a quasi-exclusive sectorial character and were mainly oriented towards infrastructural regeneration. Despite the prevailing physical character of the initiatives carried out, URBAN represented an element of strong innovation, being one amongst few real occasions for Italian cities to handle the integrated approach to urban regeneration. In this connection, URBAN's "added value" matches with the broader range of interventions pursued and with the search for the efficient involvement of the population and socio-economic actors at the local level. This was especially true for cities in the southern part of the Country.

Between 1994 and 1999, URBAN I involved 16 Italian cities, three of which were part of objective 2 areas of the Structural Funds (Trieste, Genoa and Venice), one being out of objective (Rome) and the remaining twelve were cities of southern Italy, part of objective 1 areas (Naples, Salerno, Foggia, Bari, Lecce, Cosenza, Catanzaro, Reggio Calabria, Palermo, Catania, Siracusa and Cagliari). The urban contexts where the programme took place were highly diversified as regards both the problems at stake – declining working class quarters, de-urbanised areas, popular quarters in the historic city centre – and the extension of the area of action (ranging from 2000 inhabitants of the URBAN site of Trieste to 81000 inhabitants in Rome)²⁴².

Thus, at least in this first phase (1994-1999) the CI URBAN I in Italy took the form of a unique general programme made of 16 sub-programmes corresponding to the cities selected by the central government. The municipal administrations of the Italian "URBAN cities" were in turn responsible for the implementation of the sub-programmes managed by the Central Ministry, while the former Department for the Coordination of Communitarian Policies (now Department for European politics) was the national authority responsible for the coordination of the Operative Programme in charge of

²⁴² Over the first round, the General Directorate for the Territorial Coordination (DICOTER) of the Ministry of Public Works (now Minister for Infrastructures and Transportation) acted as the unitary Managing Authority, backed by a temporary association of enterprises (Ecosfera, Censis, Reconta Ernest & Young and Bocconi University) in charge of monitoring and technical assistance; the evaluation of the programmes was demanded to ISRI, an external body.

managing the financial flux, evaluation and monitoring, and of the programme's general control²⁴³.

Some relevant innovations characterised the second CI URBAN edition in Italy. In fact, unlike the first edition, the areas of intervention were not only cities with a population of over 100000 inhabitants, but also medium and small cities located in metropolitan provinces²⁴⁴. Furthermore, the Surveillance Committee was no longer centralised, but rather localised. During the second edition (URBAN II) the role of the *Managing Authority* was devolved to each Municipal administration of the ten cities taking part in the programme, which, in turn held the Presidency of the local Surveillance Committees. This arrangement was adopted with the main aim of favouring participation "during the implementation of the programme on behalf of all local forces active in the area, which, within URBAN I, did not have the relevance and the visibility that they expected" (DICOTER, 2003: 3).

Additionally, during the second phase, intermediate evaluation of the projects became an established practice. This was carried out by the central administration in the attempt to unify the system for programme evaluation at the National level, thus offering participant cities a greater possibility of exchanging information. As regards this latter point, despite the activism of some Italian cities in URBACT (those cities directly involved in URBAN and other UPPs) and in EUROCITIES, the occasion for sharing knowledge and experiences with other Italian cities taking part in URBAN II has been rather limited, if not absent. *URBAN-Italia* network – embracing the cities participating in the CI URBAN and in other urban programmes financed at different levels (National and Regional) – did not

²⁴³ Control of the overall implementation was demanded to a Surveillance Committee, created according to the Art. 25 of the Reg. (CEE) n. 4253/88; it was composed by representatives of various Ministry concerned (Economy, Labour, Environment), by representatives of Departments of the Presidency of the Ministers Council (Coordination of Communitarian Policies, Urban Areas), representatives of the European Commission and representatives of the sixteen cities concerned.

²⁴⁴ I it is actually the case with Misterbianco and Mola di Bari where the programme has been applied to the entire Municipal Territory. The number of eligible cities, also due to inferior financial equipment, has been decreased from 16 to 10 (Carrara, Caserta, Crotone, Genoa, Milan, Misterbianco, Mola di Bari, Pescara, Taranto and Turin).

develop effectively and its action was limited solely to the publication of on-line documents²⁴⁵.

According to the data supplied by DG Regio, the overall expenditures of Italian cities involved in the second phase of CI URBAN were distributed within the different axes of intervention as follows: ~56% on Physical and Environmental Regeneration, ~7% on Entrepreneurship & Employment, ~10% on Inclusion, ~15 % on Transport, ~6 % Information Technologies, and the remaining 6% on Technical Assistance. This confirms the fact that in the Italian case, particular attention was devoted to infrastructural interventions. Not only was this trend characteristic of Italy, but more generally of Mediterranean Countries (such as Greece and Spain); in turn, this represents a marked difference compared to Nordic Countries, where preference was given to matters of entrepreneurship, employment and social inclusion.

Logic of action in the city of Turin

With the endorsement of decision n. C/2001/3531, the Community Initiative URBAN II “Mirafiori Nord” was formally adopted in November 2001. The programme had an overall financial budget of ~43 euro millions²⁴⁶ and represented one of the biggest initiatives for urban redevelopment ever carried out in the city²⁴⁷.

The period of implementation of the CI URBAN II corresponded almost entirely with the running up to the winter Olympics, held in 2006. Even in this case, the programme aimed at promoting projects of social, physical and economic transformation to favour development opportunities for the local populations.

²⁴⁵ As confirmed by interviews carried out at the City Hall of Genoa and at DG Regio (between March and July 2007 on occasion of a previous research project) Urban Italia never acted effectively as a means to connect Italian cities. This prevented small and less equipped cities to embark on experiences that they counterparts in other European Countries (i.e. France) have successfully accomplished (it is actually the case of the national French Urban Network).

²⁴⁶ The overall funding was secured for ~45% by the EU, ~40% by the Central State and the remaining ~15% by local financing, including private actors.

²⁴⁷ Apart from the relevant financial allocation, the CI URBAN II “Mirafiori Nord” covered an area inhabited by ~ 250000 people and a total surface of approximately 2 million square metres.

From the moment of initial endowment of the programme, onwards, the city directly dealt with the responsible for the programme at the European Commission. In this connection, the regional administration remained rather tangential to the overall dynamic, and the central administration – besides its role as paying authority – was responsible for the selection of the cities that would have taken part in the EU programme.

Additionally, during the period of implementation of the programme, the city of Turin took part – and it is still involved – in several pan-European networks. While some are explicitly addressing matters of urban regeneration and recovery – *Urban Italia* and *Quartiers en Crise* – others are networks dealing with a broader range of themes concerning cities and local authorities, such as *Eurocities* and *Urbact*.

The implementation of the programme as such, fits in within a wider context of peripheral redevelopment that the city initiated back in 1997, when a new department of the municipality – *settore periferie* – was set up²⁴⁸. Before the city applied for the second edition of the CI URBAN in 2000, the Periphery Departments were already pursuing 15 different complex programmes for urban regeneration, territorial development and the overall requalification of the peripheries had been put in place.

The renewal of the administrative class – following reforms in 1993 – has certainly boosted a new attitude towards matters of urban regeneration and territorial development. Following this trend, Turin embarked on an (EU) Urban Pilot Project in the 1995–1996 period (“The Gate”), which constituted a sort of preamble to the latter participation in URBAN II. Hence, in 1998, the city carried out an additional programme for integrated urban regeneration – *contratto di quartiere* –, which allowed for experimenting new financial and programmatic instruments.

²⁴⁸ In 1997 in particular, a municipal decree institutionalised the “Special Periphery Project” for the requalification of peripheries in Turin. This was the resultant of a particularly favourable political juncture, which saw the first direct election of the city mayor in 1993. Up until then the domain of urban regeneration was indeed rather seconded to other priorities, such as infrastructural development.

Therefore, the fact of “missing out” the first edition of URBAN created a rather convenient climate to feature the projects initially proposed for the CI into the new Urban Recovery Plans (PRU) promoted at the regional level. Already on this occasion, the integrated approach as promoted by the EU was perceived as a necessity to face the complexity of the urban peripheries and above all to respond to local populations’ increasing demand for participation. This translated in the elaboration of appropriate methodologies for informing the population and favour its efficient participation in synergy with the public administrations²⁴⁹.

Fig. 9.1 Areas of Intervention under the “Progetto speciale periferie”



* Highlighted in green: C.I.P. URBAN 2; ** Highlighted in yellow: Neighbourhood contracts; *** Highlighted in pink: local actions;

Source: http://www.wohnbauforschung.at/Downloads/Presentation_Bricocoli.pdf

The area affected by PIC Urban 2 lies on the southern outskirts of Turin, near the industrial complex of Fiat Mirafiori, and it is characterised by high concentration of public housing²⁵⁰ where problematic dynamics of social, economic and cultural nature traditionally loomed large. Thus, Mirafiori Nord needed intensive actions in terms of urban requalification, not only concerning the public housing estate and low-quality of public and

²⁴⁹ On the basis of the experience acquired in earlier programs of urban regeneration, such as The Gate in the area of Porta Palazzo, the PRUs, and the via Arquata district contract, a programme implementation model was produced ensuring the participation and joint responsibility of public and private stakeholders seeking the development of the target area.

²⁵⁰ The Commune, the Territorial Housing Agency (ATC) and the government own 1904 housing units, accounting for circa 20% of the homes available in the area, compared to a city-wide percentage of 6% (<http://www.comune.torino.it/rigenerazioneurbana/>)

green areas, but also the revitalization of the socio-economic conditions of an area at risk of stagnation in this sense.

The overall project was therefore organised around three main axis of intervention. Under the *green axis* of rehabilitation and environmental sustainability, a plethora of actions were promoted with the aim of re-qualifying the physical environment, the existing green areas and creating new public spaces²⁵¹. Along a second axis of intervention – *red axis* – concerning social integration, reduction of social exclusion and creating opportunities for cultural and artistic expression, several actions were promoted to strengthen the existing social relations and the sense of belonging to the local community. Finally, initiatives were promoted to support existing businesses and create new job opportunities within the *blue axis* – creating infrastructures and knowledge for economic growth. In this case, projects were carried out to support small and micro enterprises, services for the new economy and training activities for job induction²⁵².

Fig. 9.2 Axis of intervention URBAN 2 Turin



Source: <http://www.comune.torino.it/urban2/>

The structure put in place for the overall management of the programme, from the programming phase, through to the actual realisation of the planned projects, saw the

²⁵¹ Some amongst the many initiatives carried out within this axis are: the requalification of “Livio Bianco” square, “Corso Tazzoli”, the renovation of the “Roccafranca Farmhouse”, improvements to the existing power line, the already mentioned initiative to improve the percentage of differentiated waste collection, as well as the car sharing projects and the promotion of bikes.

²⁵² A complete description of the interventions carried out within this axis can be retrieved at: http://www.comune.torino.it/urban2/eng_vers/area.html.

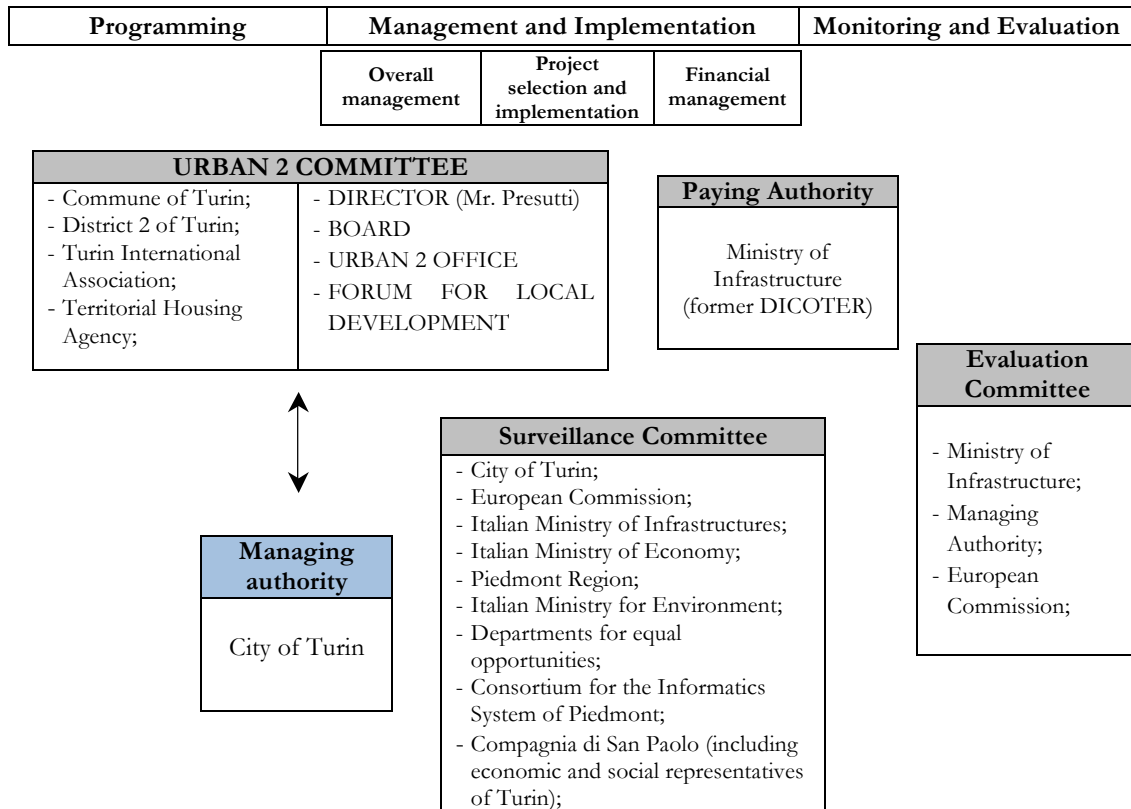
involvement of several socio-economic partners and institutions acting in the territory. In particular – as confirmed by the witness of key actors in Turin – the promotion of a synergic network of partnership from the early stages was perceived as an indispensable condition for the overall success of the programme.

Thus, the City of Turin acted as Managing Authority responsible for the overall supervision of the programme, whereas, the concrete implementation of the planned actions was entrusted to an *ad hoc* steering committee – “Urban 2 Committee” – which remained formally in office until the end of 2008²⁵³. In turn, the Committee was organised through a board (with 12 members), a director (Mr. Presutti), an URBAN 2 office –staffed by municipal personnel and external collaborators responsible for the day-to-day management of the programme – and a *forum for local development* including social and economic partners with a consultative role. The structure and working method of the URBAN 2 Committee were maintained afterwards to manage the Regional funds (ERDF) addressed to urban areas during the current programming 2007-2013 period. Besides that, a surveillance committee – including amongst others the Piedmont Region and the Compagnia di San Paolo – was established in 2002 with purposes of control and monitoring of the actions carried out²⁵⁴. Additionally, a paying authority and an evaluation committee were respectively responsible for managing the initial cash flow and the ex-post assessment of the programme. The figure below exemplifies the organisational scheme for the management of the CI URBAN 2 as set up in Turin.

²⁵³The Managing Authority relies on the Committee to perform all planning & implementation, management and control activities for the broad and complex set of mutually interrelated and coordinated actions involved in the program, for the attainment of the established goals. In other words, the Committee is the supplier & organiser of all the technical, administrative, economic and managerial intelligence needed to put the programme into effect.

²⁵⁴ As part of its tasks, this Committee approves the Programme Complement and, through an analysis and assessment of information regarding implementation status, it evaluates the need to perform appropriate actions, defined jointly with the City of Turin, i.e. the programme’s Management Authority, in order to ensure a full and effective use of the resources available, also by making changes to plans, as deemed fit case by case.

Fig. 9.3 URBAN II in Turin



Source: personal elaboration

Insights into the Europeanization of urban regeneration in Turin

The actual implementation of the programme translated into actions carried out within 9 different domains and around 60 people actively working for the appropriate realisation of the planned interventions. *De facto*, the integrated approach to policy development was already in place in the proposal and programming phase, above all due to the bulk of experience previously gathered over the same policy area. This was further confirmed by the successful “integration” of the URBAN 2-actions with the other initiatives in place over the same lapse of time (i.e. 2003-04 “Contratti di Quartiere”).

Thus, apart from the enhanced coordination achieved with the competent regional departments during the whole development of the programme – due to both the financial contribution of the regional administration and the contextual deployment of regional programmes for territorial requalification over the same territory – URBAN 2 has certainly favoured the participation of a broader range of actors, whose legitimacy *vis á vis* both the

upper levels of administration – EU and central State – and the other actors within the urban territory has strengthened in as much as interventions were accomplished. Therefore, enhanced participation can be detected in the phases of negotiation and application for EU financial support, but above all during the programming stage, both pre-candidature and post-implementation. In particular, citizens' participation was a real added value during the programming phase since 2002, when a comprehensive process of *participatory planning* was initiated in the aim of finalising objectives, methodologies and also the political choices for intervention²⁵⁵.

Interviews at various levels – public officers and representatives of the economic sector – revealed how the truly innovative and transformative element brought about by the promotion of EU programmes consists of the integrated approach to policy development (urban regeneration in this case). The integrated approach was moreover perceived due to the multiple measures endorsed within the same programme as well as the governance architecture backing its overall management. In particular, the establishment of an “Urban Committee” certainly represented an added value to the way the city managed the preparation and successive implementation of the URBAN II community initiative. The committee was in fact interdependent with the other various components of the city but managed to hold a sufficient degree of independence so as to take operative decisions, especially concerning spending.

Officers in charge of the various components of the programme stressed how the EU rules governing the URBAN initiative were fully interiorised during the period of implementation, and the actual matching between the programmed interventions and those actually carried out is evidence of this renovated attitude. Thus, the working methods as

²⁵⁵ Worth mentioning in this sense is the method experimented for the ideation and successive implementation of the project that led to the realisation of the “Roccafranca farmstead”, oriented towards a research-action approach. Following the endorsement of the overall project presented by the City of Turin, a “feasibility study” (October 2002-june 2004) was adopted to sort out an operative plan that viewed the participation of public and private actors present on the Mirafiori Nord territory. Also the requalification of “Piazza Livio Bianco” and “Piazza Giovanni XXIII” ended with the citizens' participation in the final planning phase. In this connection, meetings were organised and the final projects were displayed after being selected through the national context named “centopiazze” (100 squares).. People gave useful indications for their modification and chose the winning project.

well as the organisational aspects as streamlined by the European Commission, represented a thorough yardstick for the actual implementation of the projects, which – owing to a strengthened decisional and spending capacity – could be performed with success in due time.

Working methods accompanying URBAN 2 then became standard modalities for the realisation of other initiatives for urban recovery initiated by the city of Turin without the financial support of the EU; it is the case of the new programme “Urban Barriera”²⁵⁶, whose steering committee was officially set up in April 2011. In this connection, despite the actual success of the integrated approach as translated in the case of Turin, there continue to be – practitioners argue – some difficulties in constructively involving the private sector.

Amongst the instruments that the promotion of URBAN contributed to settle in the policy-making within the domain of urban redevelopment, there is the enhanced capacity to define an overall strategy of intervention as well as a series of indicators for the up-to-date evaluation of the interventions. Furthermore, URBAN allowed for the use of flexible financial instruments that made sense of the efficient application of the subsidiarity principle, thus making it possible for the local administration to deploy, in turn, various instruments of proximity (i.e. participatory planning), leading to the increasing involvement of the population living in the areas of intervention.

The increasing involvement of the city in programmes and initiatives promoted by the EU, together with the renewal of the administrative class – following reforms in 1993 – have boosted a new attitude towards matters of urban regeneration and territorial development. Thus, during the legislature of mayor Castellani (1993-2001), the city of Turin embarked on a flourishing development process, which culminated in the allocation of the winter Olympic Games to be hosted in 2006.

²⁵⁶ Following the URBAN 2 model, the programme for integrated urban requalification “urban Barriera” will commence with a 41,5 € million financial provision and more than 30 actions will be carried out for the overall recovery of an area of 2 square Km.

This attitude was further strengthened by the implementation of EU programmes in the 2000s – in particular by participation in URBAN 2. The increasing dynamism of local actors (notably the public administration of the City) on the one hand, and the systematic involvement of the local population – through participatory planning for instance – on the other hand, made “Turin feeling like a thorough European city, an attitude that is not only recognisable within the different sectors of the city administration, but above all among the population”²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁷ Interview with Arch. G. Magnano. Department for Public Housing - City Hall of Turin, June 2011.

IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

During the 2007-2013 programming period the place for cities and urban areas in Europe was subject to an ambivalent attitude by the EU. On one hand, initiatives specifically addressed to cities were dismissed. Programmes for urban renewal and growth are now part of mainstream regional agendas under objectives 1 and 2 of the EU structural policy. On the other hand, the EU intended to strengthen the place of urban issues by integrating actions, concentrating resources and by formulating recommendations on a broad set of fields, ranging from transport services, environment and energy, sustainable territorial development, and the elaboration of new financial instruments to boost local economies²⁵⁸.

The progressive marginalisation of cities in the EU policy-making to the advantage of regional administrations and Central bureaucracies is one possible implication of the former aspect. However, the integration of the urban dimension across issues and policies may position cities at the forefront of the EU policy-making, especially in the domains of environment and sustainable development.

This project arose out of this potential dichotomy in an attempt to make sense of the ways European cities encounter the EU. The paucity of studies specifically addressing the relation between cities and the European Union led to favour a theoretically oriented type of research. The motivation for this project was to disclose the character of, and scope conditions for the Europeanization of urban governance.

In the following sections we will address the research questions initially set out and systematise the empirical findings of our analysis. Specific attention will be devoted to the issue of mechanisms and the logic of interactions. Section 4 proposes a series of theoretical

²⁵⁸ For a complete overview of the role of cities in the EU policy making and the policy areas where an EU *urban volet* is foreseen, reference is made to Ch. 1.

expectations on the modes of Europeanization. In section 5 we locate the research findings in the broader literature on Europeanization and European studies. The last section concludes by recognising the limitations of our analysis and by proposing avenues for future research.

10.1 Answering the research questions

Let us now turn to the research questions of the dissertation and answer them. The main question guiding the research – *how does the European Union influence urban policy?* – led us to a conceptual exploration of how cities encounter the EU.

Overall, we built on the argument that to identify how the EU affects different domains of urban governance it is necessary to look beyond those policies and programmes with “cities on their tin”, meaning the policies formally targeting cities. In this connection, EU policies – and policy instruments – initially promoted at the national level, may have a deferred or indirect influence on other territorial systems, thus contributing to re-structure relations and the policy-making in the localities. Our analysis enables us to establish whether specific modes of interaction conform to theoretically justified patterns (mechanisms), thus determining the character of Europeanization of urban systems. Simplified game-theoretical models – we found – are particularly useful to exemplify and highlight the defining properties at the foundations of modes of Europeanization. They complement our process-tracing of the selected cases.

Our findings also underline the role of actors, thus providing a link between substantive policy analysis and interaction-oriented policy research. In a nutshell, the overall attempt was to revitalise the research agenda initially proposed by Theodore Lowi, which calls for a science of politics that treats *policy* as an independent variable influencing the type of politics. In short, the empirical part of the dissertation has highlighted a whole set of policy programmes and policy instruments with potential impact on urban systems, beyond the range of activities that explicitly address cities in a formal-legalistic way.

Following the initial investigation of the possible channels of EU influence on cities, a second research question dealt with the *set of mechanisms that structure the interaction between actors and shape the process of Europeanization*, thus eventually triggering change. Mechanisms have been sorted out according to different *arenas* – ideation, regulation, coordination and distribution – and to their *procedural nature* in terms of mechanisms of change and transmission.

We found that the analysis of policy instruments reveals the causal mechanisms structuring the encounter of actors within different institutional orders. Thus, policy instruments shed empirical light on the *modes of Europeanization*. We argued that it is important to see instruments in relation to mechanisms. The analysis of four instruments (i.e. the Covenant of Mayors, the Packaging and packaging waste directive, Directive 1999/30 on air quality control and URBAN II Community Initiative) has shown that some of the mechanisms initially (and deductively) associated with the modes of Europeanization (i.e. ideation, regulation, coordination and distribution) actually shape interactions within the specific domain considered, whereas others, despite prevailing in one mode, are also present in modes other than the one originally theorised. This is shown in table 10.1 and 10.2, where we distinguish between change and transmission. Recall that change is about the mechanisms of interactions between actors around a specific policy issue, whereas transmission refers to the mechanisms for the promotion of EU instruments and how cities respond to, and manage EU instruments.

Coordination is the main mechanism within domains where preferences are prevalently exogenous and where EU action mainly consists of setting standards and aims to reach effectiveness through evidence-based measures (e.g. domains of air quality control). However, coordination dynamics also structure relations within the other domains considered, and its shortfall is often deemed as the most problematic aspect for the efficient pursuit of the objectives attached to the policy programmes undertaken.

Mechanisms of coordination – we found – become more relevant inasmuch as programmes implemented locally follow the integrated approach as recommended by the EU. *Proceduralization* was initially ascribed to the set of mechanisms featuring ideational modes. However, actors' agreement on procedures, and processes for the choice of instruments to be used, is typical of multiple policy domains. Thus, ideational components are present also within modes of regulation in the form of persuasion dynamics, rational reasoning and dynamics for the selection of the procedures to employ in the management of instruments and policy programmes.

Some mechanisms for the transmission of EU instruments are generally present independently from the policy mode considered. To exemplify, *communication* features in modes of ideation as the principal mechanism for the transmission of EU instruments, but it also characterises the development of instruments within other modes, especially during the early phases of the policy process.

This is also the case for *learning* and *networking* mechanisms. The capacity of cities to enter networks where they can flag their preferred options and draw on others' successful experiences influences the diffusion and the outcomes of EU programmes. Learning is considered a necessary condition; on the one side for urban actors to put in place actions that revealed successful elsewhere, and on the other for the EU to guarantee the sustainability and improvement of its action domestically.

Table 10.1 Common mechanisms of Europeanization

| MECHANISMS of CHANGE | MECHANISMS of TRANSMISSION |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| COORDINATION PROCEDURALIZATION | COMMUNICATION POLICY LEARNING/TRANSFER NETWORKING |

A third research question – *does the nature of strategic interaction determine the character of Europeanization?* – led us to further analysis of the four cases. The ideal-typical distinction

between modes of Europeanization through a typological exercise based on two dimensions – *logic of preference* and *payoffs from Europeanization* – gave the analytical springboard for the empirical appraisal of EU policy instruments in the city of Turin.

Our initial hypotheses were:

Hp. 1: if preferences are ENDOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is ZERO-SUM, then the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via IDEATION;

Hp. 2: if preferences are ENDOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is PARETO OPTIMAL, the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via REGULATION;

Hp. 3: if preferences are EXOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction is PARETO OPTIMAL, the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via COORDINATION;

Hp. 4: if preferences are EXOGENOUS and the nature of strategic interaction leads to ZERO-SUM games, the prevalent mode of Europeanization is via DISTRIBUTION;

The analysis revealed that some conjectures/expectations were confirmed, whereas others revealed only partially true. In particular, when the city of Turin was involved from the early phases of the policy-process and maintained a role during the implementation phase – i.e. in the domain of air quality control and energy saving – our initial conjectures were not rejected by the evidence. In fact, the involvement in the initiatives promoted by the EU, a direct role in the implementation of instruments, and sustained management of policy action by cities' authorities, are conditions favouring Europeanization. When the involvement of local actors is limited to specific phases instead – predominantly the execution of task in the case of waste management and the overall management of the programme in the case of URBAN CI – the process of Europeanization is less robust. We will explore this point further in sections 3 and 4.

Linked to this substantive question, we addressed a further question – *do policy instruments and programmes perform according to specific modes of interaction, or do they trigger unforeseen*

contingencies instead? – so as to eventually produce some generalisations and suggest avenues for future research.

As for the performance of instruments against the properties attributed to each of the modes of Europeanization, the four case studies show how policy instrumentation does not entirely conform to the whole set of mechanisms and logics of action initially conjectured.

Instruments “move” from one cell to another of the typology in table 3.2, thus eventually showing properties that are initially credited to alternative modes. In particular, instruments within modes of ideation have the potential to evolve into their regulatory components and to develop distribution-like characteristics. This is actually the case for the Covenant of Mayors programme, which, despite mainly representing the character of ideational modes – based on extensive dynamics of reflexivity and communication – has developed into a series of instruments of a more pronounced financial type. In a similar vein, regulatory instruments – the waste framework directive in this case – present ideational components as initially suggested.

Ideational components within regulatory modes are typical of the process leading to the elaboration of regulatory procedures and also feature in different phases of the policy process. Therefore, during the implementation of the waste framework directive in the city of Turin, actions aiming to efficiency by respecting the targets fixed by the EU are paralleled by information and communication campaigns to raise citizens’ awareness. This is even more so within domains where distribution is the prevailing mode. In particular, URBAN II CI revealed how a substantially financial instrument evolved into a complex programme made of a plethora of different components.

In a sense, the contrast among the four instruments is less stark than originally theorised, especially if we consider that they can move from one cell to another.

10.2 Dissecting mechanisms

Some mechanisms characterise interactions and the transmission of instruments within all the four modes of Europeanization (table 10.1). However, others appear more specific to one or the other policy instruments.

Tab. 10.2 Mechanisms and Modes of Europeanization

| MECHANISMS of EUROPEANIZATION | | |
|-------------------------------|---|--|
| MECHANISMS of CHANGE | IDEATION | REGULATION |
| | <i>Signalling</i> <i>Deliberation and Framing</i> | <i>Pareto efficiency</i> <i>Regulation</i> <i>Collibration</i> |
| | DISTRIBUTION | COORDINATION |
| | <i>Strategic bargaining</i> <i>Negotiation</i> | <i>Coordination</i> <i>Cooperation</i> |
| MECHANISMS of TRANSMISSION | IDEATION | REGULATION |
| | Benchmarking Promotion of new paradigms and tools of governance | Regulatory competition Regulatory compliance |
| | DISTRIBUTION | COORDINATION |
| | Institutional framing Programming Targets compliance Territorial rescaling | Self-regulation Cooperative Learning Targets Compliance |

We must recall that policy instruments exemplify our modes of Europeanization. Looking at modes, *ideation* was examined via the Covenant of Mayors programme. The CoM is promoted within a domain – sustainable development – where preference has recently been accorded to incentive-based measures. Such measures are founded on a mix of soft regulatory provisions and financial mechanisms that aim to favour the efficient action of local authorities, without nonetheless imposing excessive bureaucratic and administrative burdens on the action of actors and administrations involved.

Here the EU channels a legitimising *discourse* where cities are depicted as loci for experimenting innovative governance tools and where management and implementation of existing policies can be pursued more efficiently. Since the promotion of the CoM in 2008, until the phases of initial implementation in the city of Turin, the action of the

Commission – through the CoM Office – mainly confined to favour the socialisation of actors within different arenas and to the initial approval of the sustainable action plans.

Extended dynamics of *deliberation* were at play during the promotional phase of the programme, especially on occasion of the informative meetings organised by the Commission. These lead signatories to eventually change their initial preferences, thus committing to a common set of overall goals, to be nonetheless locally pursued via autonomous actions. In particular, during the stages following the initial adoption of the programme and preceding the final endorsement of the SEAPs by the competent Office at the EU level, the main mechanisms were *framing* and *proceduralisation*.

The former mainly structures relations between signatories – the city administration in this case – and the CoM Office during the elaboration of the sustainable action plan. Actions to implement locally are selected and organised according to evaluative and analytical criteria responding to templates and guidelines set at the EU level. The latter – proceduralisation – features instead in the process of actors' interrelation within urban systems during the preparation of the action plan and eventually throughout its management and implementation.

Thus, in the case of Turin, whilst the actual preparation of the action plan for energy – including the part relative to the emission inventory – showed the main role of the competent services of the city administration in partnership with the “Politecnico” University, the overall discussion and planning of the actions recorded a broader participation of stakeholders²⁵⁹.

The experimentation of *new tools of governance* in this sector, as well as the EU attempt to promote *new policy paradigms* in urban areas to stimulate the production of renewable energies and adopt sustainable strategies for urban development through the integrated approach, found an early translation in the launch of 30 pilot projects, which gave indications for the successive elaboration of the CoM programme. Therefore, mechanisms

²⁵⁹ Fig. 6.3 (The Covenant of Mayors in Turin), in chapter 6, graphically represents the subjects involved in the process in the case of Turin.

of innovation underpin dynamics of enlarged participation and the application of new financial instruments. In this case, EU financing depends more on the ability of local actors and administrations to attract complementary funds from domestic financial backers and institutions – and on the efficient pursuing of targets – than on their actual spending capacity, which is no longer considered a sufficient condition for efficiency.

Communication constitutes the principal mechanism for the transmission of the instruments embedded in the CoM programme. Not only this applies to the CoM Office' action vis-à-vis the signatory cities, but also locally from the city administration towards stakeholders and the local population, with the aim to raise awareness about sustainable development and energy saving matters. Mechanisms of *benchmarking* apply in different instances. Overall, the CoM is interpreted as benchmark for future initiative of a similar nature, such as for instance the SmartCities project, therefore as a necessary toolkit for local administrations to venture into more long-term programmes. Benchmarking and *policy learning/transfer* characterise the entirety of the programme development. Local initiatives that appear to be particularly innovative are in fact endorsed as useful actions for other local authorities to replicate, within a context where the European Commission is seeking to elaborate a system for the continuous learning and transfer of best practices among participants.

In this connection, mechanisms of transmission are to various extents associated with dynamics for the promotion of ideational tools and their possible inclusion into future initiatives to be carried out in the context of more extended policy programmes within urban areas. At the level of urban domestic systems, ideational-discursive policies translate into EU-led – locally managed programmes – for boosting “active citizenship” in the form of partnership arrangements for discussion and deliberation. In this case, representatives of different segments of the society are involved in debating problematic situations concerning specific policy issues or instead cross-sectoral initiatives to be carried out in limited areas or neighbourhoods of the city.

Modes of *regulation* have been exemplified by considering the development of the packaging and packaging waste directive 94/62/EC, then embedded within the provisions of the waste framework directive in 2006-2008. On one side, the choice to consider this particular instrument within a highly regulated sector, was motivated, by the early promotion of the Directive, and on the other side by its character of “command and control”, setting specific targets for waste collection and recovery²⁶⁰.

In this connection, *regulation* as a mechanism of mediation between actors – public administrations in particular – characterised most processes surrounding the development of directive 94/62/EC and the implementation of EU instruments for waste management in the case of the urban territory of Turin.

Despite the numerous legislative measures adopted since the late 1980s, the action of the national central administration is mainly confined to the transposition of EU provisions – it does not provide a coherent regulatory system for waste management. Cities are generally subject to a double regulatory scheme. The action of the Commission mainly consists of technical measures for the regulation of different waste streams, whereas domestic measures (mainly set at the Regional level in the case of Turin) are moreover addressed to set the Plans for waste management and to grant authorisations for waste treatment.

Contextually, the action of the European legislator within this particular policy domain aims at gaining increasing *efficiency* through the *harmonisation* of procedures for waste management. In this connection, we considered *collibration* as a mechanism for the virtuous exploitation of “existing social energy”. The EU does not intervene on the operative methods for waste collection and the logistic organisation of the territories to be regulated. Mechanisms of *regulatory competition* apply only indirectly within local territories, where the

²⁶⁰ The lists of the main regulatory actions undertaken within this policy sector, both at the level of the EU system as well as in the case of Turin, can be retrieved on Tab. 7.1 and 7.3 of chapter 7.

regulatory action of the EU proceeds through the mediation of policy channels within other arenas (i.e. national and regional).

Compliance with the tenets and targets accompanying EU provisions for waste management is the main pattern structuring the relations between urban actors and regulators within other systems, namely the EU and the regional administration. Compliance with EU provisions in the case of the packaging waste directive – particularly as regards the obligation to attend quantitative objectives for waste collection and recycling – favoured transformations concerning the organisational aspects of waste management, technical operations of treatment and actions for waste prevention.

EU-related regulatory actions in urban areas are therefore associated with dynamics for the *monitoring of performance* and for *assessing outputs* at various stages of the policy process. Monitoring and assessment are performed at various levels by, the municipal services, AMIAT, the area Consortium and the Provincial departments. Also within this domain, loose coordination is considered the main hindrance towards reaching greater efficiency in the territorial management of waste.

At the same time, *regulatory mechanisms* tied up with the action of variable partnership arrangements for the provision of services, where the management of policy programmes increasingly relies on shared competences. In this connection, the waste management system in Turin is mainly made of public and semi-public actors, which act on the bases of regulated partnership arrangements. The realisation of the “Gerbido” waste to energy plant brought into scene a plethora of new private subjects acting as investors and partially as future management of the plant²⁶¹.

Coordination as a mode of Europeanization was exemplified by considering directive 1999/30/EC and framework directive 2008/50/EC. Processes of interaction within the domain of air quality control – since its early phases back in the 1990s – advanced through

²⁶¹ The main actors involved in the system of waste management in the urban territory of Turin are reported on Fig. 7.2 in chapter 7.

successive steps of interests' accommodation between the European legislator and the different regulatory traditions of Member States. In turn, the “regulatory” measures agreed upon at the EU level were mostly following a logic of standard setting grounded on evidence based reasoning, evaluation techniques, and information gathering.

Patterns of coordination apply in this case between different territorial systems as well as between actors within each of them. In one case coordination mainly structures the relations between Member States and the EU. In the other, mechanisms of *coordination* and *cooperation* feature in the implementation process of concrete actions for local air quality control. Here, different administrations and multiple subjects involved in the urban policy-making act in the attempt to respect the standards accompanying EU provisions for air quality control.

In this connection, Member States coordinate their reciprocal actions around the standards agreed upon at Community-level, in a policy domain where the EU does not regulate through “command and control measures”, but it promotes common methods for the evaluation and collection of information for statistical purposes. In particular, air quality control reveals how coordination is the main mechanism shaping the relations between the city (Department for Environment), the Province of Turin, and the competent sectors within the Regional administration. Similarly, coordination characterises the relation between Turin and the other urban conurbations of the Po-valley.

Compliance with targets is a characteristic mechanism within this domain, where actions implemented locally aim to create the conditions to attain performance-values. Regional plans for air quality control – comprising the elaboration of criteria for air quality assessment and zoning – and actions promoted and implemented by the city rest on mechanisms of *self-regulation*. In this connection, urban authorities have a certain room of

manoeuvre to elaborate solutions that are as efficient and coherent as possible in addressing the specific drawbacks affecting their territories²⁶².

In turn, the success of locally implemented actions relies on the capacity to advance mechanisms of *cooperative learning* and *information benchmarking*, both between the subjects involved in the process locally, between the city administration and other administrative bodies having a competence to intervene in this policy realm (i.e. Region and Province). The overall success of urban action in this sense, as well as the long-term attainment of the EU objectives of the air quality control policy, largely depends on the efficient use of techniques for assessing air quality standards and on collecting reliable information for computing statistical databases useful for future policy elaboration²⁶³.

Reporting and continuous *assessment* are necessary principles to coordinate the action of different systems towards the attainment of common goals. Coordination of actions, especially as to the overall collection and reporting of data, must be guaranteed by Member States, which are asked to annually report to the European Commission on the national performances and values relative to emissions and air quality.

Poor coordination amongst the public administrations involved in the process is the main hindrance towards gaining full efficiency in the actions to contrast excessive pollutant emissions and therefore to respect the limit values imposed by legislation. Notwithstanding this partial drawback, Turin has achieved results, especially in limiting the overall emission of pollutant substances.

Community initiative URBAN II is the instrument we looked at for the mode of *distribution*. Unlike the other instruments considered, URBAN was an initiative (dismissed for the 2007-2013 programming period) that the EU explicitly addressed to urban areas, thus

²⁶² Fig. 8.3 (Air quality control in Turin) represents the range of actors – and their competences – in the process of air quality control.

²⁶³ The range of actions put in place for the control of emissions and to limit the emission of pollutants in the case of Turin are outlined in chapter 8 (Europeanization via Modes of Coordination).

representing a veritable incubator for the early experimentation of the integrated approach to policy elaboration in the localities.

According to structural funds regulations, national central administrations are the subjects that negotiate with the Commission the overall distribution of funds to Member States and regions. In turn, different financial streams are nationally allocated, where, depending on the domestic organization of territorial powers, local authorities (including cities) put forward their proposals to carry out programmes and initiatives under the EU financial assistance. *Negotiation* and *bargaining* are the mechanisms shaping relations between Member State representatives and the Commission during the early stage of the policy cycle.

The analysis of URBAN II has exposed different mechanisms of transmission: *programming*, *institutional framing*, *territorial rescaling* and *targets compliance*. The absence of a coherent pre-existing national policy for urban development, associated with a tendency to favour infrastructural regeneration in order to face contingent situations, did not favour the diffusion of integrated strategies for policy elaboration in Italian cities. Turin, together with other cities – Genoa and Bologna – had long embarked on the path of long-term strategic territorial development through the endorsement of a Strategic plan back in 2000.

In particular, institutional framing applies to the relations between the municipal departments involved in the management of the CI, which had to partially re-adjust their usual working methods to better respond to the requirements attached to EU financial assistance. Similarly, relations with the regional administration underwent progressive transformations insofar as the integrated approach to urban development featured in the programmes carried out in the city²⁶⁴.

Mechanisms of territorial re-scaling, as initially hypothesised, can be detected to the extent that direct relations between the city and the EU became more institutionalised during the deployment of the programme, thus strengthening the “relative positioning” of

²⁶⁴ The regional administration was at times co-involved in the dynamics of urban regeneration and participates in the management and implementation of EU-financed projects for territorial development.

Turin *vis-à-vis* the regional and central administrations. Mechanisms of compliance loom large also in the case of URBAN II. Compliance with targets translates here into the abidance to specific procedures for accomplishing the planned actions – integration of interventions and recourse to partnership arrangements in particular – as well as in the attempt to respect tenets concerning spending, timing and reporting towards attaining the overall efficiency of the actions pursued.

Dynamics leading to the “institutionalisation of weak ties” (Granovetter, 1973) follow the application of new modalities and arrangements for the management of policies. In particular, partnership agreements initially set up to manage the actions planned to satisfy the programme requirements, have the potential to become long-lasting arrangements for implementing similar initiatives planned by the city without the aegis of the EU.

Additionally, programmes within modes of distribution envisage a series of processes leading to the horizontal integration of policies through cross-sectoral initiatives, whose management often requires the partial restructuring of relations between urban, regional, rural and central State authorities.

10.3 The logic of interaction

We already concluded that policy instrumentation does not entirely conform to the whole set of mechanisms initially hypothesised. The contrast among the four instruments is less stark than originally theorised. We now go back to the association between EU instruments (in turn, proxies of the “modes”) and simple game-theoretical models, and explore a key element of any game, that is, the logic of interaction.

Recall that we associated the Covenant of Mayors with *signalling* games; the Packaging and packaging waste directive with the *Battle of the sexes* game; Directive 1999/30 (and 2008/50) on air quality control with the *Assurance game*, and URBAN II with *games of bargaining*. The main properties of each game paired with our Modes of Europeanization were confirmed during the analysis of EU policy instruments in Turin. This gave us

leverage to assess the type of change occurred – if any – and the possible character of Europeanization.

The analysis of the Covenant of Mayors shows a situation where the European Commission acts as *sender* vis-à-vis participant cities, which are generally less informed “agents” willing, nonetheless, to embark on the path of innovation. Reiterated processes of communication and learning, and more generally the coordination role played by the Commission behind the two-fold veil of exclusion/suspension and financial support, transform a potentially zero-sum game into a situation that is beneficiary for both parts.

The voluntary character of the overall programme, associated with the great freedom of action granted to the participant cities, makes Europeanization in the case of the CoM a highly variable process. Its nature and scope mainly depend on the specificities of the urban system encountered, thus on its permeability to innovation and the working methods accompanying this EU instrument.

Our analysis shows how EU action through the CoM is *de facto* auxiliary to an overall process of domestic (local) reforms, where policy actions for energy saving and renewal were already in place. Embarking on the CoM contributed to enhance the overall coherence of the city activity in this sector. The preparation of the Action Plan for Energy fostered new synergies between local actors, thus favouring an overall dynamic of consultation and information sharing between public and private subjects differently interested in this sector.

Although the number of actors involved in the process has not consistently increased during the period of analysis, actors’ legitimacy has strengthened following EU “inducement”. More relevant here is the potential embedded in this EU instrument to persuade cities – and thus their actors – to systematically adopt the yardstick of the integrated approach for the elaboration of action plans and the strategic development of

urban territories. In this connection, *signalling* is a distinctive feature of the European Commission' role during the development of the Covenant of Mayors in Turin.

The role of certain Member States as “first-mover” characterised the early phases of discussion and negotiation of the Packaging and packaging waste directive, the instrument chosen to exemplify *regulation* as a mode of Europeanization. Hence, those Member States with a stronger tradition – and a more comprehensive regulatory framework – in the realm of waste management succeeded in channelling their preferred options and to influence the contents of the policy measures adopted by the EU. In this policy domain, the European Commission acts as first mover vis-à-vis cities, which are generally subject to the regulatory provisions of the EU and the nationally endorsed laws for waste management (or by the regional administration, as in the case of Turin).

Regulation mainly consists of successive movements to reach efficiency following dynamics of reasoning and compliance grounded on specific targets and on the prevision of sanctions. The European Commission exercises partial leadership by providing adaptability to changing circumstances and by promoting change, also through the revision of existing measures, as it was for the endorsement of the “waste framework directive”.

EU action within this policy domain assumed a particularly strong relevance in Turin. This was due to the lack of a comprehensive regulatory framework for waste management in the territory of Turin until recently, associated with the partial stalemate of the national administration, which limited its action to the transposition of EU legislative measures. In Turin, the promotion of regulatory instruments for waste management and prevention – including directive 94/62 – encountered a particularly “fertile” context for channelling EU tenets of waste management and fixing targets for the collection and re-use of municipal waste. New actors got involved in the process, and the level of participation increased, following the involvement in pan-European networks for waste management (i.e. ACR+)

and the merging of private investors in the project for the realisation of the new waste to energy plant (TRM Ltd.).

In the analysis of Directive 1999/30 on air quality control, *assurance*²⁶⁵ – the defining property of the game we held as exemplifying interactions within modes of coordination – characterises the relation between actors involved in the process of air quality control within the urban territory, and the dynamic of coordination between Turin and other “neighbourhood” cities on occasion of joint actions to face situations of emergency. The role of the European Commission consists of enhancing reciprocal assurance between the agents – also by limiting the set of preferences at disposal of actors – through the diffusion of information and empirical evidence on air quality.

Europeanization of air quality control translates in greater legitimacy for local actors to undertake policy initiatives and to “autonomously regulate” within the legislative framework of the regional law. Increased dynamisms of urban actors triggered stronger collaborations between the public administration and other research institutes (i.e. ARPA and ISPRA) and the promotion of new instruments for emission reduction, especially on the initiative of the city Mayor within his special competencies²⁶⁶. The diffusion of an EU narrative that portrays urban areas as the ideal dimension where to undertake actions to combat air pollution favoured the overall process.

Game-models of bargaining were considered to exemplify the main properties of interactions within modes of *distribution*, which we assessed through the analysis of URBAN II. The extensive nature of interactions over policy issues characterises this mode, where actors’ interplay usually takes place in different arenas of governance over time²⁶⁷.

²⁶⁵ See chapter 8 for an illustration of the ‘Assurance game’.

²⁶⁶ See chapter 8 on this point.

²⁶⁷ As already exposed in chapter 3, interaction within arenas of distribution can be thought as a series of ‘nested games’ (Tsebelis, 1990), where actors’ suboptimal strategy in one game can be part of a strategy to maximize payoffs when all arenas are taken into account.

In particular, the Romer-Rosenthal model for resource allocation was thought as best fitting the action of the EU in the process of negotiation and successive management of structural funds and thus the financial endorsement of URBAN II CI. Therefore, the European Commission acts like an “agenda setter” vis-à-vis Member States in the initial phase of negotiation and allotment of funds.

In URBAN II, after the initial decision of the Commission concerning the national allocation of funds to carry out the initiative, the principle interactions take place between the competent services at the EC (i.e. DG Regio) and the cities willing to put forward their candidature for the programme.

In the case of Turin, following the approval of the programming document, city's authorities were interacting directly with the offices of the European Commission, which acted as surveillance and technical support during the programme development.

The main element of innovation linked to URBAN II CI is the diffusion of the *integrated approach* to policy development. Veritably, some of its constitutive principles were already part of the working methods employed in carrying out programmes for urban regeneration in the city prior to EU assistance. On this occasion though, the principle of “participatory planning” found thorough translation in the involvement of citizens during the project selection phase, while enhanced actors participation characterised the overall development of the programme²⁶⁸.

Thus, the necessity to put in place cross-cutting actions within multiple domains led to the creation of new – although temporary – managerial committees as well as to partially readjust relations between different sectors of the municipality. The long lasting involvement of Turin in programmes for urban regeneration and territorial development sponsored by the EU, contributed on this occasion to fully interiorise working methods and organisational practices foreseen by URBAN CI. However, we cannot affirm that EU principles for urban regeneration through the integrated approach will continue to be part

²⁶⁸ See chapter 9 (section on “Logic of action in the city of Turin”) for more details on this point.

of the city “policy-making DNA” for the elaboration and implementation of similar initiatives in the future²⁶⁹. *Agenda setting* by part of the European Commission is the defining property governing the overall logic of interaction within modes of distribution. However, the analysis of URBAN II in Turin showed that interaction assumes more nuanced fashions during the actual management and implementation of the instrument within the urban territory.

10.4 Using evidence to formulate propositions on Europeanization

The main purpose of the investigation was to assess the nature of the Europeanization process of the policy-making of European cities. But we can now use the evidence to formulate propositions about Europeanization that new projects may wish to test. Our expectations about the scope of Europeanization are the following:

EXP 1: when the prevailing mode is “Ideation”, stakes are big and Europeanization is expected to be robust in the long term;

EXP 2: when the prevailing mode is “Regulation” the stakes are rather irrelevant and Europeanization is expected to be contingent on compliance patterns;

EXP 3: when the prevailing mode is “Coordination”, stakes are small and Europeanization is expected to be robust;

EXP 4: when the prevailing mode is “Distribution”, stakes are big and Europeanization is expected to be contingent;

Let us see how we get to these expectations. Exp.1 is drawn from the argument that, despite the non-binding character of the policy measures promoted within ideational domains, there are latent potentials for their sedimentation into the logic of domestic action due to extended processes of confrontation and socialisation between city actors in the EU-wide policy arenas, thus eventually leading to the Europeanization of policy areas other than solely the one initially concerned. Exp.2 arises out of the reasoning that, being stakes rather irrelevant, the eventual Europeanization of domestic policy arenas is

²⁶⁹ An example in this sense is the recent launch of the ‘Urban Barriera’ regeneration programme in 2011. See chapter 9 on this point.

dependent upon the compliance with the EU provisions, which can be constraining to different degrees and in the case of cities, “filtered” through additional provisions elaborated within central national administrations. In the case of coordination – Exp.3 –, the relatively “soft” role of the EU, and the coordination of reciprocal actions and exchange of ideas over policy alternatives – generally taking place within groups of experts – trigger the possibility for EU instruments to become substantial yardsticks for policy elaboration domestically. Expectations on the character of Europeanization in the case of modes of distribution – Exp. 4 – are motivated by the nature of EU action within these domains and by the generally limited duration of EU programmes, therefore on the likely “dispersion” of EU working methods after programmes terminate.

Table 10.3 *Expectations on the scope of Europeanization*

| | POLICY MODES | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| | IDEATION | REGULATION | COORDINATION | DISTRIBUTION |
| SCOPE OF EUROPEANIZATION | Potentially robust | Contingent on compliance patterns | Robust, but based on small stakes | Contingent on stakes |

Building on the now extended scholarships on *modes of governance* in the European Union (Eberlein and Kerwer, 2002; Héritier and Rhodes, 2011 Joerges, Mény and Weiler, 2001 Knill and Lenschow, 2003; Treib, *et al.*, 2005), we submit that the four modes can reveal differences based on the *policy making features* that we expect to exemplify the encounter between cities and the EU.

Thus, the *approach to implementation* can rely on rigid modalities (e.g. in regulatory modes), which define precise standards, rather than on more flexible criterion for the application of norms (e.g. modes of ideation). Yet, the implementation of instruments can be based on different sets of targets to pursue, or on provisions of mixed nature, like in the case of URBAN II.

The *nature of conflict* over resources can be material, thus involving political or societal confrontation over sensitive policy issues (e.g. ideation and distribution), or more centred

on the specific procedures to carry out EU level policies and programmes. In this latter case, confrontation on procedures to be employed is about deciding the type of standards or the level of targets on which the instrument is based (modes of coordination).

The *character of proceduralisation* of policies also varies between areas or policy sectors wherein there are binding (mandatory) steps to follow – no matter what the substance of the decision (or policy) is – and less stringent requirements that allow the parts involved to manage the issue at stake through more bendy modalities. Examples of procedures are reason-giving requirements, compulsory inter-service procedures, all the bits of the treaties on the involvement of the EP and Council for example in the Community method, obligations to publish the list of participants in meetings, prohibition to convene informal meetings prior to a formal meeting, obligation to give a hearing to an interested party, obligation to perform an economic analysis of proposed regulations, yet obligation to publish proposed regulation for notice and comment or the requirement attached to procedures for the judicial review of certain rules.

In addition, a distinction can be made as to the level of *transparency* of the interaction within a specific area, and the *nature of deliberation* over policy issues, which can be encouraged and diffused (modes of ideation), or limited to a strict range of actors. Hence, deliberation can be of a more technocratic nature – as in the case of modes of regulation –, instead the process can be essentially “political”. This is prevalently the case within modes of distribution, where local authorities and actors eventually deal with the EU only when dynamics of “grand bargaining and negotiation” over the distribution of EU funds are concluded.

Furthermore, the modes are likely to feature different *structures of actors*. Distinction in this sense can be made as to the institutional and territorial level of their “affiliation” – EU, national or local –, the fact that those are public rather than private actors, yet as to the source of their legitimisation, that can be technocratic or political. Besides that, differences are likely to be detected in relation to the *structure of networks* eventually operating, as well as

regarding the type of *access to network structures*. Networks in which actors might interact can be open to access, or constrained in terms of actors' participation. In turn, their structure can be prevalently hierarchical, where participation is subject to defined sets of rules or characterised by a variable geometry with the prevalence of technical expert or political representatives. Finally, other distinguishing features relate to the prevailing *locus of authority* that can be centralized or dispersed, rather than diffused within groups of experts or following patterns with variable geometry.

10.4 Contribution to the literature

By approaching Europeanization as a process (rather than outcome) we were able to appraise the evolution and transformations of different arenas, thus generating findings that are more nuanced than propositions like “Turin is highly Europeanized / is not Europeanized”. This also exposes an important way in which our work contributes to the literature: in our analysis of Europeanization, the unit of analysis was not the city, but policy arenas where actors, instruments, and modes of interaction have shaped a given type of political relationships – a distinctive way to produce policy and politics. This approach – we submit – has more leverage for generalizations than approaches based on units of analysis (like the city or the country) that have little to offer to genuine theoretical public policy analysis (Radaelli, *et al.*, 2012).

This approach also speaks to those who are trying to promote a conversation between rational choice and constructivist approaches, rather than isolating them so they no longer communicate. On many occasions we have seen that actors in our policy arenas have a sense of strategy, and pursue power rather than learning. Yet there are fundamental elements of their strategy that defy calculability: our actors can gamble rather than formulate probability estimates. More interestingly still, there is no uniform behaviour across arenas. Thus we observed that the rational choice game theoretical intuitions go a bit further in some cases than in others. Finally, the dissertation has confirmed a major

tenet of a large collective work programme under way, based on the systematic study of policy instruments to expose the politics of policy making. Although this was present in earlier work by Lowi and Salamon, it was in the last 20 years that the theoretical implications of thinking in terms of instruments have been clarified. Hopefully our work contributes to this systematization of the theoretical usages of policy instruments in comparative public policy.

At an even more abstract level, there is debate on the agenda for the “normalisation” of European Studies – the basic idea being that we should have the same concepts to study different political systems, so the EU empirical pieces should fall in the theoretical places that can be used also outside the EU (Hassenteufel and Surel, 2000).

This agenda ties in with the motivation to “revitalise” the logic of social action. This understanding of Europeanization, however, also connects with strategic interaction, the importance of considering “micro-sociological” aspects, as well as the importance of referring to social mechanisms and the modes of interaction guiding actors within different systems of territoriality. Actors *use* the opportunities offered by the European Union, but at the same time they are transformed by these relations (Jacqout and Woll, 2008). Our approach, however, accounts both for the goals of rational actors as well as for the social and institutional environments in which they are embedded. This brings us to lessen the theoretical dividing between the approaches of rational choice and social-constructivism.

This approach to Europeanization – which is not devoid of rationality and strategy – emphasises the value of micro-sociological analysis and the importance of considering the role of, and the interaction between actors (Carter and Pasquier, 2010; Pasquier and Weisbain, 2004; Smith, 1999). It also considers the importance of conducting analysis *par le bas* in the attempt to assess the role of local actors and the ways through which they reappropriate of EU and national institutional rules (Baisnée and Pasquier, 2007; Pasquier, 2005). We have to consider how EU norms and policies are *perceived* and *used* by actors

within the localities, although they may have not directly taken part in the process of their initial elaboration and promotion (Smith, 2001). Hence, the Europeanization of a certain phenomenon (or policy sector) “resides in the constant interaction between the Communitarian dimension and the national and international dimensions” (Pasquier and Weisbain, 2004: 9).

To make progress along these lines, we found it useful to take typologies of mechanisms seriously – yet another way in which our findings can speak to a wider literature in political sociology. Typological exercises create order and simplification out of otherwise overly complex situations. A typology, in this sense does not constitute an explanation; it does not provide accounts as to why a certain event happens or for the time–space co-variation of occurrences. Typologies are “classificatory devices that allow to attach labels to different phenomena in an orderly fashion, but they not tell us why we observe the phenomena we observe” (Hedström, 2005: 13). In turn, the classificatory purpose helps to establish to which type a case can be associated with. Eventually – as it was actually the case here – the typology is used for the selection of cases, their mapping and their comparison on the basis of different values of the attributes of the property space (Elman, 2005).

We can now sum up and describe the main innovations we have hopefully brought into this field.

In contrast to the classic view of the cathedral based on EU instruments that have “city on the tin”, we have set out to explore an alternative, more encompassing view. In particular, this study has drawn on the “sharp public policy analysis tools” advocated by Carter and Smith. We have been able to generate the initial catalogue of mechanisms and arenas to consider four ideal-typical modes. These modes – NOT the policies legally defined as EU initiatives for the cities – are the theoretical places wherein the Europeanization effects can be traced, by examining public policies and their instruments

across time. In this connection, our research endeavour contributes – we argue – to revitalise the literature on modes (or arenas) of policy, thus those scholarships assuming that the structuring of politics depends on the type of confrontation and strategic interaction producing around specific policy issues.

Hence, one advantage of our proposal is to extend the range of instruments that are (potentially at least) vehicles of Europeanization way beyond the limited “city-level initiatives” considered by the traditional view of the cathedral. Another is to enable us to reflect theoretically about governance, interaction, and logics of political behaviour, thus setting the ground for theory-based expectations of how urban governance is affected by the action of the European Union.

Further, the typological exercises at the base of our analysis contributes to the literature on modes of governance, policy instruments and Europeanization by showing how the urban dimension can be integrated in the analysis. By doing so, our approach makes the urban dimension fully comparable with other territorial domains in which Europeanization effects have been studied. Further research could integrate our typological exercise with the vibrant literature on EU modes of governance and EU policy instruments (Kassim and Le Galès, 2010). Finally, the analysis has considered policy instruments not merely in terms of their intended outcomes, as usually suggested by functional explanations, but rather as complex devices ensuing from conflict and specific modes of interaction (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007).

10.5 Limitations, future research, and recommendations

Some words of caution are in order, however – to begin with, our conjectures and expectations were tested on a single geographical context (i.e., the city of Turin). This is a good choice in terms of research design, because it allows us to examine the variation of theoretically-generated variables (like our modes) within a single institutional and territorial context. But it limits the possibility to draw general lessons. At the theoretical level, we

suggested one possible way to study Europeanization. But this is not the only possible way. Our approach has high costs in terms of abstractions about logics, preferences and other concepts. Because of this, our approach is useful to sort out categories and concepts, less to generate causal IF-THEN propositions that can be tested empirically, although in the previous Section we have made an effort in this direction.

We also have to acknowledge that we have moved away from multi-level governance: this may be seen both as an asset and a liability. For us, the main justification to develop the project outside the field of multi-level governance is the need to pay attention to actors' relations over specific policy issues and to give sense of their specific role during the policy process, thus to overcome an approach – MLG – that instead has usually treated sub-national actors and institutions as constituting a unique and static layer of governance. Future research will have to re-connect research on urban processes of Europeanization to the general propositions of multi-level governance – if anything, to prove them wrong.

On research design, more extensive research strategies may be employed to carry out future research on the same topic. Thus, for instance, the same policy instrument can be considered in its development over different programming periods with reference to different territorial contexts²⁷⁰. Not only would this improve the understanding of how different urban systems react to EU promoted policies. It would also make more sense of whether the logic governing the EU action over different spans of time actually impacts on urban systems and on the ways local actors use EU policy instrumentation. Alternatively, the same policy mode may be assessed through the analysis of multiple instruments. This could contribute to appreciate internal differentiation within each of the modes as well as improve our understanding for alternative case selection.

Further, the analysis can gain additional analytical leverage by simply extending the number of observations. This would have implied to consider, for instance, four different

²⁷⁰ This would be the case, in particularly for the analysis of those instruments within policy domains where the action of the European Union is organized through different programming periods, such as for instance the EU structural policy.

cities, contrasting cases of success and failure. This type of research strategy would nonetheless require a considerable amount of resources, both in terms of time and availability of a sufficiently reliable data-set for the initial selection of the cities and the eventual evaluation of the actual results afterwards achieved.

We wish to conclude by connecting our findings to recent policy developments. Although this dissertation was not developed with the preoccupation to formulate policy recommendations, we can relate the findings to the current state of play in this area. The recent publication by the European Commission of the new proposed Regulation²⁷¹ in the field of Regional policy stresses the importance of elements such as integrated urban development, sustainable growth, the protection of the environment and the promotion of resource efficiency. It also points out the need to further strengthen community-led local development and to better rely on simplified rules, more efficient financial instruments and a more systematic use of monitoring and evaluation techniques for the appraisal of actions undertaken in the territories. Some main differences from the current 2007-2013 Regulation clearly stand out. Thus, integrated actions are considered necessary – and not any longer as a preferred option – to deliver urban development; this shall be pursued also through a better integration between funds, in particular the European Social Fund, which is now explicitly referred to as integral to the integrated strategy. Furthermore, better integration is sought via the provision of integrated territorial investment as a replacement for separate priority axes for urban development, where multi-funds Operational Programmes will support strategic actions²⁷².

²⁷¹ European Commission COM (2011) 615 final, Proposal for a Regulation of the European Parliament and of the Council laying down common provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund, the Cohesion Fund, the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund covered by the Common Strategic Framework and laying down general provisions on the European Regional Development Fund, the European Social Fund and the Cohesion Fund and repealing Regulation (EC) No 1083/2006.

²⁷² The implementation of integrated urban development strategies will be enhanced by the possibility to combine actions financed by ERDF, ESF and CF either at programme or operation level. Cross-financing between ERDF and ESF of a part of an operation (up to 5 % of each priority axis of an Operational Programme) will remain to complement the multi-fund approach.

In this connection, we argue, to fully deploy the potentials of the integrated approach to urban development, cities' administrations and actors should better develop instruments for the collection of information and the diffusion of knowledge, in order to assess both their current situation and the prospective development of their territories.

Thus, a thorough system of indicators is needed to gauge progress towards objectives and to evaluate both the effectiveness of the strategies put in place and of the actions to be planned (European Commission, 2011). New and more results-oriented indicators would need to be combined with an improved capacity for cities to communicate and share information, both between departments within the public administration and stakeholders, and between urban areas within the same territory, where policy objectives and the axes of strategic development are allegedly more similar. This would therefore allow cities to better coordinate actions to be planned and implemented in the future.

Appendix

Tab. 1 “Europeanization and Policy” sample

| ID | Author and tile of the publication | Year | N. of citations | Publication |
|----|--|------|-----------------|--|
| 1 | AGH, A., 1999. Europeanization of policy-making in east central Europe: The Hungarian approach to EU accession. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 6 (5), 839-854. | 1999 | 13 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 2 | ANDERSEN, M. S., 2002. Ecological modernization or subversion? The effect of Europeanization on eastern Europe. <i>American Behavioural Scientist</i> , 45 (9), 1394-1416. | 2002 | 14 | <i>American Behavioural Scientist</i> |
| 3 | BENZ, A., AND EBERLEIN, B., 1999. The Europeanization of regional policies: Patterns of multi-level governance. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 6 (2), 329-348. | 1999 | 13 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 4 | BEYERS, J., AND KERREMANS, B., 2007. Critical resource dependencies and the Europeanization of domestic interest groups. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 14 (3), 460-481. | 2007 | 12 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 5 | BORRAZ, O., AND JOHN, P., 2004. The transformation of urban political leadership in western Europe. <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i> , 28 (1), 107-+. | 2002 | 22 | <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies</i> |
| 6 | BORZEL, T. A., 2002. Pace-setting, foot-dragging, and fence-sitting: Member state responses to Europeanization. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 40 (2), 193-214. | 2002 | 28 | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |
| 7 | BRUNO, I., JACQUOT, S., AND MANDIN, L., 2006. Europeanization through its instrumentation: Benchmarking, mainstreaming and the open method of co-ordination ... Toolbox or Pandora's box?, <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 13 (4), 519-536. | 2006 | 8 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 8 | COLE, A., AND DRAKE, H., 2000. The Europeanization of the French polity: Continuity, change and adaptation. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 7 (1), 26-43. | 2000 | 16 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 9 | DYSON, K., 2000. EMU as Europeanization: Convergence, diversity and contingency. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 38 (4), 645-666. | 2000 | 12 | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |
| 10 | FALKNER, G., 2000. How pervasive are Euro-policies? Effects of EU membership on a new member state. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 38 (2), 223-250. | 2000 | 9 | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |
| 11 | GOLDSMITH, M., AND LARSEN, H., 2004. Local political leadership: Nordic style. <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Research</i> , 28 (1), 121-+. | 2004 | 8 | <i>International Journal of Urban and Regional Studies</i> |
| 12 | HARMSSEN, R., 1999. The Europeanization of national administrations: A comparative study of France and the Netherlands. <i>Governance-an International Journal of Policy and Administration</i> , 12 (1), 81-113. | 1999 | 19 | <i>Governance</i> |
| 13 | KNILL, C., AND LEHMKUHL, D., 2002. The national impact of European union regulatory policy: Three Europeanization mechanisms. <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> , 41 (2), 255-280. | 2002 | 30 | <i>European Journal of Political Research</i> |
| 14 | LADRECH, R., 1994. Europeanization of domestic politics and | 1994 | 72 | <i>Journal of</i> |

| | | | | |
|----|--|------|----|--|
| | institutions – the case of France. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 32 (1), 69-88. | | | <i>Common Market Studies</i> |
| 15 | LAVENEX, S., 2001. The Europeanization of refugee policies: Normative challenges and institutional legacies. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 39 (5), 851-874. | 2001 | 14 | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |
| 16 | LEVI-FAUR, D., 2004. On the “Net impact” Of Europeanization – the EU’s telecoms and electricity regimes between the global and the national. <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , 37 (1), 3-29. | 2001 | 12 | <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> |
| 17 | LIPPERT, B., UMBACH, G., AND WESSELS, W., 2001. Europeanization of CEE executives: EU membership negotiations as a shaping power. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 8 (6), 980-1012. | 2001 | 19 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 18 | LOPEZ-SANTANA, M., 2006. The domestic implications of European soft law: Framing and transmitting change in employment policy. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 13 (4), 481-499. | 2006 | 9 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 19 | MANNING, N., 2004. Diversity and change in pre-accession central and eastern Europe since 1989. <i>Journal of European Social Policy</i> , 14 (3), 211-232. | 2004 | 8 | <i>Journal of European Social Policy</i> |
| 20 | MAZEY, S., 1998. The European union and women’s rights: From the Europeanization of national agendas to the nationalization of a European agenda? <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 5 (1), 131-152. | 1998 | 32 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 21 | RADAELLI, C. M., 1997. How does Europeanization produce domestic policy change? Corporate tax policy in Italy and the united kingdom. <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> , 30 (5), 553-575. | 1997 | 13 | <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> |
| 22 | SCHARPF, F. W., 1997. Economic integration democracy and the welfare state. <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> , 4 (1), 18-36. | 1997 | 42 | <i>Journal of European Public Policy</i> |
| 23 | SEMETKO, H. A., DE VREESE, C. H., AND PETER, J., 2000. Europeanised politics – Europeanised media? European integration and political communication. <i>West European Politics</i> , 23 (4), 121-+. | 2000 | 13 | <i>Western European Politics</i> |
| 24 | SITTER, N., 2001. The politics of opposition and European integration in Scandinavia: Is Euro-scepticism a government-opposition dynamic? <i>West European Politics</i> , 24 (4), 22-39. | 2001 | 12 | <i>Western European Politics</i> |
| 25 | WARLEIGH, A., 2001. ‘Europeanizing’ civil society: NGOs as agents of political socialization. <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> , 39 (4), 619-639. | 2001 | 14 | <i>Journal of Common Market Studies</i> |

Tab. 2 “Trade-offs in causal analysis” general scorecard

| | | TRADE-OFFS IN CAUSAL ANALYSIS | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|--|-------------------------------|------------------|-----|---------|-------------|-----|-----------|-----------------------|-----|----------|-----------|-----|---------------------|-------------------|-----|
| | | 1 | | | 2 | | | 3 | | | 4 | | | 5 | | |
| ID | AUTHOR (Year) | Causes of Effects | Effect of causes | N/A | Concept | Measurement | N/A | Parsimony | Rich set of variables | N/A | Top-Down | Bottom-Up | N/A | Mechanisms oriented | variable oriented | N/A |
| 1 | Agh, 1999 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2 | Andersen, 2002 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 3 | Benz and Eberlein, 1999 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 4 | Beyers and Kerremans, 2007 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 5 | Borraz and John, 2004 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 |
| 6 | Borzel, 2002 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 7 | Bruno, Jacquot and Mandin, L., 2006 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 8 | Cole, and Drake, H., 2000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 9 | Dyson, 2000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | Falkner, 2000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 11 | Goldsmith and Larsen, 2004 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 0 | -1 |
| 12 | Harmsen, 1999 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 13 | Knill and Lehmkuhl, 2002 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | Ladrech, 1994 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | Lavenex, 2001 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 16 | Levi-Faur, 2004 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 17 | Lipeprt, Umbach and Wessels, W., 2001 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | Lopez-Santana, 2006 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | Manning, 2004 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 0 | -1 |
| 20 | Mazey, 1998 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 21 | Radaelli, 1997 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 22 | Scharpf, 1997 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 23 | Semetko, De Vreese and Peter, J., 2000 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 24 | Sitter, 2001 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 25 | Warleight, 2001 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| | TOTAL OBSTERVATIONS (N=25) | 12 | 11 | 2 | 8 | 16 | 1 | 2 | 19 | 4 | 12 | 5 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 3 |

Tab. 3 (a) “Europeanization and Policy” general scorecard (Research question/Theoretical Framework/Research Design Section/Method/Sample size)

| ID | AUTHOR (YEAR) | RESEARCH QUESTION | THEORY/Framework | RESEARCH DESIGN SECTION | METHOD | SAMPLE SIZE |
|----|---------------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|--|-------------|
| 1 | AGH, 1999 | N/A | Neo-Institutionalism | NO | Time sequenced case study | N=1 |
| 2 | ANDERSEN, 2002 | “what effects has Europeanization had on the ecological modernization in CEE countries?” | Ecological modernization | YES | Comparative | N=8 |
| 3 | BENZ and EBERLEIN, 1999 | “how do patterns of territorial interaction and regional policy making adapt to the challenges of Europeanization?” ; | Multi-level-governance/Institutionalism | YES | Comparative, cross-national regions and cities | N=2 |
| 4 | BEYERS and KERREMANS, 2007 | “Europeanization is shaped by the immediate organisational environment of domestic groups due to dynamics of resource dependencies” | Organisational theory (critical resource dependencies) | YES | Comparative, cross-national/EU | N=4 |
| 5 | BORRAZ and JOHN, 2004 | “strong leadership as a functional response to the changing nature of cities’ assets, new political culture, Europeanization and dynamics of policy learning and diffusion” | Social constructivism | NO | N/A | N/A |
| 6 | BORZEL, 2002 | “Member States response to Europeanization is shaped by their policy preferences and their capacity for action” | Two-level game approach | YES | Policy case | N/A |
| 7 | BRUNO, JAQUOT and MANDIN, 2006 | “the mechanisms of knowledge production and diffusion underlie the coordination of national actions at the EU level, and thus prescribe norms of governmental conduct | Social constructivism | NO | N/A | N/A |
| 8 | COLE, AND DRAKE, H., 2000 | N/A | Historical Neo-Institutionalism | NO | Case study | N=1 |
| 9 | DYSON, 2000 | N/A | Ideational constructivism/sociological-historical realism | NO | Policy case | N/A |
| 10 | FALKNER, 2000 | “Were the Austria’s measures for pre-accession actually successful?” | Historical neo-institutionalism | NO | Case study | N=1 |
| 11 | GOLDSMITH and LARSEN, 2004 | “how and why International and EU pressures have impacted less intensively on Nordic local political leadership than in other countries?” | Governance/Globalisation theory | NO | Comparative | N=4 |
| 12 | HARMSSEN, 1999 | “why, similar and increasing contacts with the EU do not produce increasing similarity?” | Neo-Institutionalism | NO | Comparative | N=2 |
| 13 | KNILL AND LEHMKUHL, 2002 | “the particular type of Europeanization mechanism...is the most important factor to be considered when investigating the domestic impact of varying European policies” | Social constructivism | YES | Comparative policies | N/A |
| 14 | LADRECH, 1994 | N/A | Integration theory, Europeanization | NO | Case study | N=1 |
| 15 | LAVENEX, 2001 | “the degree to which a common refugee policy is likely to be realised depends not only on the institutional reforms...but also on the Union’s ability to develop a community of values” | Normative theory/Social constructivism | NO | Policy case study | N/A |
| 16 | LEVI-FAUR, 2004 | “Does Europeanization matters to the liberalisation of Europe’s infrastructure industries?” | Mixed framework | YES | Multiple comparison | N=24 |
| 17 | LIPEPRT, UMBACH and WESSELS, W., 2001 | “what are the domestic effects of European Integration in terms of motivation buildings, institutional change and policy making | Neo-Institutionalism | NO | Comparative | N=5 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|--|--|---|-----|---|------|
| | | procedures at the member state level in these 5 Countries” | | | | |
| 18 | LOPEZ-SANTANA, 2006 | “what are the implications of the development of a soft social dimension for domestic processes, policies and institutions? What explains possible differences?” | Policy process framework/neo-institutionalism | YES | Comparative (most different cases) | N=60 |
| 19 | MANNING, 2004 | N/A | N/A | NO | Comparative (group of Countries within the same region) | N=8 |
| 20 | MAZEY, 1998 | N/A | Feminist approach/Advocacy coalition | NO | Historical Policy analysis | N/A |
| 21 | RADAELLI, 1997 | “in what way does Europeanization affect domestic policy?; what type of domestic policy change is produced by Europeanization?” | Social constructivism/Europeanization | YES | Comparative | N=2 |
| 22 | SCHARPF, 1997 | “to what extent may national system of welfare be adjusted and harmonised in response to the process of EU economic integration?” | Integration Theory/Democratic deficit | NO | Policy case study | N/A |
| 23 | SEMETKO, DE VREESE and PETER, J., 2000 | “what is the impact of the EU integration process on the domestic political media coverage?” | Neo-Institutionalism/Europeanization | NO | Comparative | N=2 |
| 24 | SITTER, 2001 | Europeanization of party politics is driven by dynamics of long and short term government opposition competition and eventually driven by party strategy” | Party system theory | NO | Comparative | N=3 |
| 25 | WARLEIGHT, 2001 | “what are the factors limiting the role of NGOs as agents for the Europeanization of the civil society?” | Social Constructivism | NO | Comparative | N=4 |

Tab. 3 (b) “Europeanization and Policy” general scorecard (Dependent variable/independent variable/Europeanization/Qualitative-Quantitative)

| ID | AUTHOR (YEAR) | DEP VARIABLE | INDEPENDENT VAR. | EUROPEANIZATION | QUANTITATIVE/QUALITATIVE |
|----|--|--|--|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | AGH, 1999 | Domestic policy making/polity | Process of accession to the EU | N/A | qualitative |
| 2 | ANDERSEN, 2002 | Ecological modernization | Europeanization (made of multiple independent variables) | X | qualitative |
| 3 | BENZ AND EBERLEIN, 1999 | Adjustment processes of regional structures | Europeanization/Regionalisation (made of multiple independent variables) | X | qualitative |
| 4 | BEYERS AND KERREMANS, 2007 | Europeanization of domestic interest groups | domestic organisational environment | Y | mixed |
| 5 | BORRAZ AND JOHN, 2004 | Leadership strength at the local level | Networks of governance/NPC/Europeanization/policy learning | N/A | qualitative |
| 6 | BORZEL, 2002 | Strategic response of member States | Level of economic development in the area of regulatory policies | N/A | qualitative |
| 7 | BRUNO, JACQUOT AND MANDIN, L., 2006 | Norms of governmental conduct | Mechanisms of knowledge production and diffusion | N/A | qualitative |
| 8 | COLE, AND DRAKE, H., 2000 | Polity assets | Europeanization | X | qualitative |
| 9 | DYSON, 2000 | Ideational constructs of the elites | EMU tenets | N/A | qualitative |
| 10 | FALKNER, 2000 | Consistency of the pre-adhesion measures | Tenets of the EU process of integration (rule-making) | N/A | qualitative |
| 11 | GOLDSMITH AND LARSEN, 2004 | N/A Change within leadership at the local level (leadership roles) | N/A Local political culture | N/A | qualitative |
| 12 | HARMSSEN, 1999 | Level of national administrative adaptation | Europeanization | X | qualitative |
| 13 | KNILL AND LEHMKUHL, 2002 | Domestic change (Europeanization of domestic structures – institutions, opportunities, ideas -) | mechanism of Europeanization | X | qualitative |
| 14 | LADRECH, 1994 | Organizational logic of the France’s institutional system | Dynamic of European Integration | X | qualitative |
| 15 | LAVENEX, 2001 | Asylum-Refugee Cooperation Policy | Europeanization | X | qualitative |
| 16 | LEVI-FAUR, 2004 | Liberalisation of the telecom and Electric sectors in the EU | Europeanization | X | quantitative |
| 17 | LIPEPRT, UMBACH AND WESSELS, W., 2001 | National central executives institutional balances | Process of European Integration/Accession procedure | X | qualitative |
| 18 | LOPEZ-SANTANA, 2006 | Labour market policy institutions at the domestic level/domestic policy-making process as to the Employment policy | European employment strategy underpinned by the tenets of the OMC, domestic intergovernmental relations, | N/A | qualitative |
| 19 | MANNING, 2004 | Changes in Social Policies and social conditions | EU accession process/Process of withdrawal of the “socialist State model” after 1989 | N/A | qualitative |
| 20 | MAZEY, 1998 | EU gender equality Policy/Women rights within EC policies | Multiple development within the EU policy framework/Domestic Policy framework | N/A | qualitative |
| 21 | RADAELLI, 1997 | Europeanization of direct tax policy | European public policy of corporate taxation | Y | qualitative |
| 22 | SCHARPF, 1997 | State control over welfare policies | Process of EU economic integration | N/A | qualitative |
| 23 | SEMETKO, DE VREESE AND PETER, J., 2000 | Media coverage | Process of EU Integration | N/A | qualitative |
| 24 | SITTER, 2001 | Europeanization of party politics | Party strategy/dynamic of government-opposition | Y | qualitative |
| 25 | WARLEIGHT, 2001 | Europeanization of the civil society | Internal democracy of the NGO | Y | qualitative |

Tab. 3 (c) “Europeanization and Policy” general scorecard (Policy-Politics-Polity/Policy area/Units of analysis/Cases/Level of Analysis)

| ID | AUTHOR (YEAR) | POLICY-POLITICS-POLITY | POLICY AREA | UNITS OF COMPARISON | ANALYTICAL CASES | LEVEL OF ANALYSIS |
|----|--|----------------------------|--|--|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | AGH, 1999 | policy and polity | N/A | N/A | Hungary | National |
| 2 | ANDERSEN, 2002 | policy | Environmental Policy | Countries | Russia, Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia, Czech Rep. Lithuania, Estonia, Romania | National |
| 3 | BENZ AND EBERLEIN, 1999 | policy | Urban/Regional Policy | Countries and sub-national governments | Germany, France | regional/City-region |
| 4 | BEYERS AND KERREMANS, 2007 | N/A | N/A | countries | Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Germany, EU | organisations |
| 5 | BORRAZ AND JOHN, 2004 | Politics-Polity | N/A | Countries and sub-national governments | N/A | National and sub-national |
| 6 | BORZEL, 2002 | Policy | Environmental Policy | N/A | N/A | National |
| 7 | BRUNO, JACQUOT AND MANDIN, L., 2006 | Policy | Social Policy* | Policy Instruments | N/A | Trans-national |
| 8 | COLE, AND DRAKE, H., 2000 | Polity-Policy-Policy | N/A | N/A | France | National |
| 9 | DYSON, 2000 | Policy-Politics and Polity | Economic Policy** | N/A | N/A | national |
| 10 | FALKNER, 2000 | Politics – Polity | N/A | N/A | Austria | National |
| 11 | GOLDSMITH AND LARSEN, 2004 | Politics | N/A | Countries | Norway, Sweden and Denmark | Local/sub-national |
| 12 | HARMSSEN, 1999 | Politics – Polity | N/A | Countries | France, The Netherlands | National |
| 13 | KNILL AND LEHMKUHL, 2002 | Policy | Environmental policy, Competition and Internal Markey*** | Countries and Policy | N/A | National |
| 14 | LADRECH, 1994 | Policy-Politics and Polity | N/A | N/A | France | National |
| 15 | LAVENEX, 2001 | Policy-Politics | Refugee/Immigration Policy | N/A | N/A | National and Supranational |
| 16 | LEVI-FAUR, 2004 | Policy | Competition and Internal Market*** | Countries and Policies | Multiple | National and Supranational |
| 17 | LIPEPRT, UMBACH AND WESSELS, W., 2001 | Polity-Policy | N/A | Countries | Czech Rep., Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Slovenia | National |
| 18 | LOPEZ-SANTANA, 2006 | Policy | Social Policy* | Countries | Spain, Belgium, Sweden | national and sub-national |
| 19 | MANNING, 2004 | Policy | Social Policy/mixed* | CEE Countries | Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Hungary, Russia | National |
| 20 | MAZEY, 1998 | Policy | Social Policy* | European level | N/A | Supranational/national |
| 21 | RADAELLI, 1997 | Policy | Competition and Internal Markey*** | Countries | Italy and the UK | National |
| 22 | SCHARPF, 1997 | Policy/Politics | Social Policy/mixed* | N/A | N/A | National/Supranational |
| 23 | SEMETKO, DE VREESE AND PETER, J., 2000 | Policy | Media Policy | Countries | Germany, the UK | National |
| 24 | SITTER, 2001 | Politics | N/A | Countries | Denmark, Sweden, Norway | National |
| 25 | WARLEIGHT, 2001 | Policy-Politics | N/A | Organisations | N/A | Organisational |

* Social Policy includes areas of welfare, income protection and health care;

** Economic Policy includes EMU, fiscal policy, research and innovation, budget issues and public sector restructuring;

*** Competition and Internal Market include areas of free movement of labour, electricity, telecommunications, transportation, taxation et al.

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List of Interviews

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| Buzica Daniela | Policy Officer at European Commission - DG Environment (Brussels, January 2011) |
| Canuto Federica | ATO –Turin (Turin, November 2010) |
| Civera Alberto | Director of Waste Management Sector - City of Turin (Turin, May and November 2010) |
| Contardi Carla | Policy Officer at Region Piedmont - Directorate for Environment (Turin, December 2010) |
| Cortassa Chiara | Policy Officer at City of Turin (Turin, September 2011) |
| De Nigris Silvio | Policy Officer at Province of Turin – Environmental Department (Turin, December 2010) |
| Dijkstra Lewis | Policy Officer at European Commission - DG for Regional Policy (Brussels, June 2010) |
| Doubrava Roman | Policy Officer at European Commission - DG ENER (Brussels, June 2010) |
| Ferrero Giovanni | Director Urban Regeneration and Integration Department- City of Turin (Turin, November 2010) |
| Fichter Mathieu | Policy Officer at European Commission - DG for Regional Policy (Brussels, June 2010) |
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